

# Carl Hugo and Mary Gutsche and the "German" Baptists of the Eastern Cape



Fritz H. Haus

VISIT...

LANZAROTE  
*Caliente*.COM

Carl Hugo and Mary Gutsche

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## Editor's Preface

I am a German passport holder who has been in Malawi since 1992, teaching Church History and Missiology first in Zomba at Chancellor College of the University of Malawi and then at Mzuzu University. In both universities my main occupation was to run the postgraduate programme in Theology and Religious Studies. And my hobby and passion has been to publish, first with Kachere Series, then with Mzuni Press and Luviri Press. Since 2007 I have been also a member of EBM International, and things came together when I met our General Secretary Christoph Haus who told us at a meeting that he was on his way to South Africa, among other things, to take care of the papers his uncle Fritz Haus had left after his death, and he also told us that his uncle had completed his PhD at the age of 80.

Fritz Haus was the last in a line of German Baptist pastors who had been sent from Germany (in 1950) to serve the German Baptist Churches in South Africa, and he had written his thesis on the life of the very first of these German Baptist pastors who had come to serve in South Africa, Hugo Gutsche who arrived in King William's Town in what was then British Kaffraria in 1867 with his wife Mary, née Lange.

Being a church historian, a researcher and a publisher, I was attracted to the thesis, and Christoph Haus sent me his copy from Germany. When Daniel Neumann, the then EBMI voluntary assistant here in Mzuzu, had scanned it, I read it and realized very soon that this dissertation was based on solid primary research and had made a good contribution to knowledge, and therefore it deserved to be published.

With this conviction I took up the task of transforming the thesis into a book. In editing the dissertation as a book I followed these principles:

1. I read the text as the text editor, and wherever I found little improvements in the flow of the text, in sentence structure and even a rare typing error, I made these changes, assuming that the author would have approved them.
2. Fritz Haus chose for his thesis a bracket reference style. I do not like this, because the highly abbreviated references do not make easy sense to the reader, therefore in this book there are footnote references,

each giving clear information on the source used or the publication referred to.

3. I have shortened and/or rephrased many of the headings, changing them from thesis style to book style.
4. I have consciously not made any changes in the setup of the thesis.
5. Wherever I felt that I should add something in a footnote, this is preceded by an asterisk (\*), and if a new entry has been included in the bibliography, the asterisk is found at the end.
6. The author has the habit to emphasize specific words, sentences and paragraphs by using bold type face. For paragraphs and sentences I mostly ignored the bold face, and where I wanted to retain the emphasis, I have used italics.
7. The same applies to his habit of writing important words or names in all caps, which I have rarely retained, but in important cases I have expressed the emphasis by italics.

I felt that the dissertation should be published as a contribution to knowledge, in this case to the (still incomplete) history of the South African Baptists. This alone would warrant this publication, but I value this book also as a contribution to the academic discourse on the writing of South African Baptist history in the post-apartheid era. Here his dialogue partner is Louise Kretzschmar with her 1992 Doctoral Thesis on "The Privatization of the Christian Faith among South African Baptists."<sup>1</sup> There she argues:

"The German Baptist settlers and their privatized theology and Euro-centric approach did not enable them to resist the temptation to conform with, and benefit from, colonialism ... this conformity with colonialism meant that the Baptist witness in South Africa was, from the outset, encapsulated within the confines of white self-interest."<sup>2</sup>

With this Fritz Haus disagrees, quietly and stringently. He feels that she may have had too little access to the primary sources, and, more seriously, that she tries to apply the valuable insights of her generation

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<sup>1</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences. PhD, University of Cape Town. - \*This was later published as: Louise Kretzschmar, *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics and the South African Baptists*, Legon: Legon Theological Studies Series, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 157.

backwards over a century on to the unsuspecting actors in the church history of what was first British Kaffraria and then became a part of South Africa.

The author argues that the study of the sources—which, of course, every historian must make the foundation—yields a very different picture. This means, that you, as the reader, are invited to take part in this academic dialogue.

I appreciate two other aspects of the book, which may also enrich the academic dialogue: The first is that Fritz Haus positions Gutsche and the South African "German" Baptists firmly in the Evangelical revival traditions. For Gutsche this background is the Great Awakening, represented by Oncken and Spurgeon among the Baptists<sup>3</sup> and Tholuck among the Lutherans. Before them there was the Pietistic Revival, one of its centres was Halle, where Gutsche's spent much of his youth. His appreciation of the Anabaptist Revival seems to me somewhat ambivalent. That he includes them in his discussion, is justified by the fact that they play a major role in Louise Kretzschmar's argument (and accusation) that the Baptists did not follow the Anabaptist principles. Gutsche reacts by showing that the Anabaptists were not exactly what Louise Kretzschmar made them to be, but I would point out that the very first Baptists in Amsterdam were indeed baptized by Anabaptists, but their spirituality and theology was Congregationalist, including their positive view of society.

The other benefit is that this book gives good primary information about the South African "German" Baptists' missionary work among their black neighbours, which became the nucleus of the South African Baptist Missionary Society.

If the author had still been alive, I might have asked him to reconsider some of the more generalized statements about colonialism, liberation theology and the changing times, but since I have not had the

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<sup>3</sup> \*Later Spurgeon took part in the Second Evangelical Awakening Holiness Revival, shown for example by the fact that he and his congregation did not support the Baptist Missionary Society (1792) but the interdenominational Faith Missions (1865). Andrew Murray of Wellington was a strong participant in the Holiness Revival, and a good friend of Gutsche.

opportunity ever to meet him, I have not done so, and where I wanted to add anything, I have marked that with an asterisk (\*).

I wish that this book finds its readers, among the 'German' Baptists of South Africa (and their friends), among the 'real' German Baptists in Germany (to add something to their early history), and among church and mission historians, wherever they may be found.

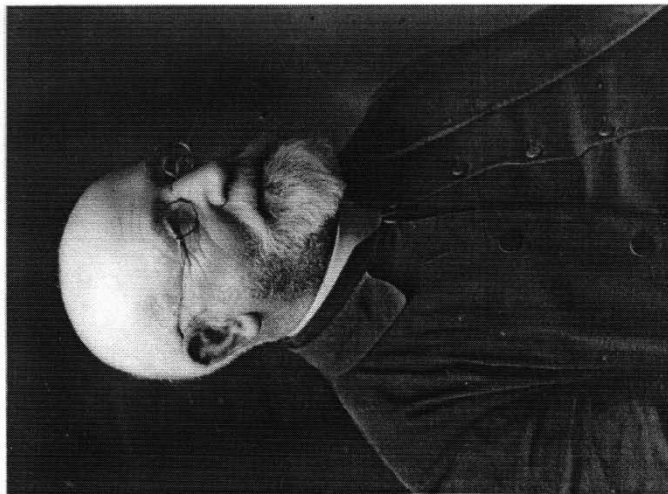
Klaus Fiedler

Mzuzu, November 2018

1897



\*1843                      \*1841  
 1-2 Hugo & Mary Gutsche / 3 Hugo (jnr). (69) / 4 Philipp (72)/  
 5 Juanita (74) / 6 Clemens (76) / 7 Hulda (78) / 8 Jesse (81)/  
 9 J Henkel married no 5 / 10 Friederick married no 3 /  
 11 Daughters of 3 & 10 / 12 Daughter of 5 & 9



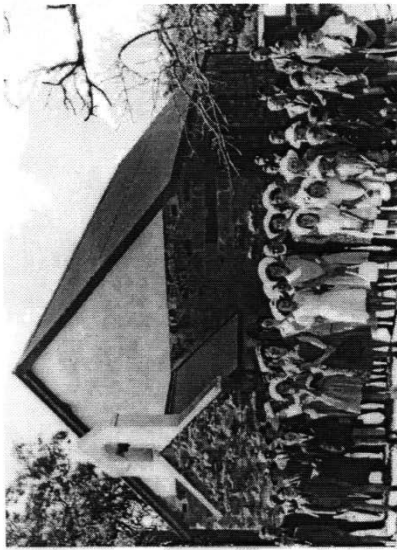
HUGO GUTSCHE  
 1917



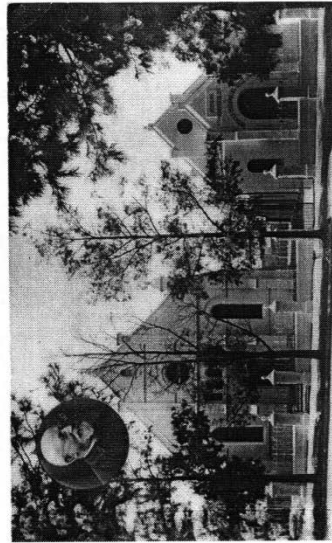
WEDDING PICTURE SEPTEMBER 1867 HAMBURG



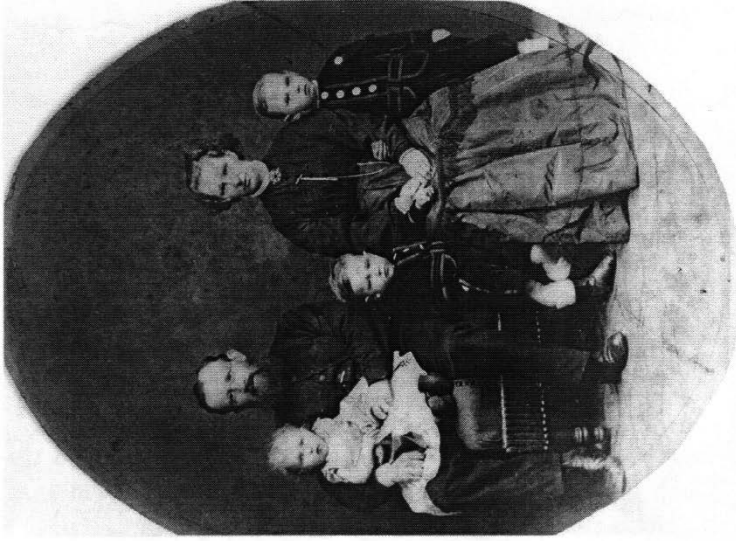
GOLDEN WEDDING 1917



FRANKFURT CHURCH 1957



EMMANUEL CHURCH & GUTSCHE HALL 1925



1875







# Introduction

**The Problem:** Very little scientific research, analysis and evaluation of C H Gutsche's ministry among the German Settlers of 1858 and their descendants has been done. All we found was a brief sketch of two columns on Gutsche in the "Suid Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek"<sup>4</sup> and the usual small anniversary booklets from individual churches of German - Kaffrarian origin. The English Baptist Churches and the Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk are much better off: Batts and Hudson-Reed have given us some well researched books on the English speaking Churches from 1820 to 1990,<sup>5</sup> and the late Rev Dr J.D. (Kobie) Odendaal captured the Afrikaans history in his book "So Het God Ons Skredes Gelei."<sup>6</sup>

This dissertation aims at addressing this deficiency by writing the story of Gutsche's life and by giving a comprehensive and well documented account about his German churches.

We owe it to history to discover the true facts, all the more so because the "German Bund" (Association of Churches) ceased to exist when they amalgamated on 6 April 1955 with the (English) Border Baptists in the old historic Gutsche Church Bethany Emmanuel of King Williams Town, adopting the new name "United Cape Eastern Baptist Association" (UCEBA).

Very recently an unusual amount of personal papers, letters, private documents, photographs, sermon notes, newspaper cuttings, articles and reports on the German Baptist churches has been discovered, from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century onwards. Of special interest is an original unpublished manuscript by the Baptist immigrant August Peinke which I

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<sup>4</sup> W.J. de Kock (ed), *Dictionary of South African Biography*. Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1968, pp. 353-354.

<sup>5</sup> H.J. Batts, *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, Cape Town: Mascew Miller, 1922 and Sydney Hudson-Reed, *Together for a Century: History of the Baptist Union of South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: South African Baptist Historical Society, 1977; Sydney Hudson-Reed, *By Taking Heed. The History of Baptists in Southern Africa*, Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House, 1983.

<sup>6</sup> J.D. Odendaal, *So Het God ons Skredes Gelei. Die Ontstaan en Groei van die Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk 1867 -1977*, Kempton Park: Baptistepublikasies, 1982.

chanced to find in the King Williams Town Museum. It vividly describes the dramatic experiences of the fate and fortunes of the 1858 Settlers. Most important, the complete set of Carl Hugo Gutsche's private diaries from 1865 to 1925 was made available by one of his grandsons. This valuable handwritten and unpublished material, mostly in the German Sütterlin script, can now, for the first time, be properly studied and analyzed to enrich or correct our knowledge of the past.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the original papers are so fascinating and helpful that they deserve to be rescued from obscurity. In my Supplement Section they can be studied in detail. The brief quotations in the main body of this dissertation may serve to 'whet the appetite'.

By writing the detailed Gutsche story for the first time, we will try to make our contribution to the more recent Ecclesiastical History of South Africa about a sector which was hitherto neglected or unknown. The new material might help us to better understand the man and his work in the historical context of his times. However, in the presence of shelves and boxes full of original documents, diaries, press reports and memorabilia we found it most difficult to decide what to include and which events and data to ignore. We have restricted ourselves to study the most important highlights of Gutsche and his churches. Others may wish to research and write about different aspects of his life and work. His diaries alone are a goldmine of information and inspiration. The complete set of Church Minutes from Business Meetings and Bund Conferences are preserved and available. What makes them so valuable is the fact that from 1868 to 1895 they were compiled and written by Hugo Gutsche himself and duly approved and signed at subsequent meetings. His minutes are painstakingly written in almost printlike quality. After 1895 he shared this work with the other ministers and those elders or office bearers who became literate enough for the task. Before 1868 hardly any Frankfurt records exist.

During the writing of this Gutsche History I became aware of the options I had and the pitfalls I wanted to avoid at all costs. I tried to be as objective as possible and let the facts speak in the context of the practices and thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Roy Swanstrom makes the

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<sup>7</sup> See Bibliography, Primary Sources.

important observation that historians see the objective facts of the past, but

"What they see is colored by the tint of the glasses they wear ... A historian from a developing country such as Kenya, anticipating a future dominated by the so-called Third World, will naturally look at the world and its historical past from a perspective different from that of an Englishman whose memory is filled with the glories of an empire almost gone. Historians identified with the radical left will differ in their perspective from historians identified with the moderate middle or the radical right."<sup>8</sup>

I have chosen the *historiographical approach* of Gutsche being a missionary orientated church planter, educator and preacher for fifty years from 1868 onwards, with only one aim, namely to build the Kingdom of God in South Africa through the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Through his Christ-centred work he empowered his flock to create for themselves ethical and moral values from the Bible which enhanced their lives and enabled them to become worthy citizens in a virgin country. Gutsche refused to become an agent for Imperialism or a propagandist for Colonialism, proof of which will be supplied in the subsequent chapters.

Although residing in King Williams Town from his arrival in 1867 until his death in 1926, his work and influence were not confined to British Kaffraria alone; he considered all four provinces (Cape, Free State, Natal and Transvaal) as his parish where he visited and ministered to his members regularly. At the turn of the century he sent several workers and pastors to Bismarck's German South West Africa (now Namibia) and Cecil Rhode's Northern and Southern Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe). As co-founder and executive member of the Missionary Society all mission stations (including Pondoland, Western Cape and Lambaland (Kafulafuta Ndola)<sup>9</sup> received his attention and care. Therefore, the geographical term Southern Africa is correctly and advisedly used.

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<sup>8</sup> Roy Swanstrom, *History in the Making*, Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1978, p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> \*For a thorough study of the South African work in Lambaland see: Reinhard Frey, *History of the Zambia Baptist Association 1905-2005*, Zomba: Kachere,

Moreover, certain wrong and negative statements are being made about Gutsche and his Baptists. Was there, perhaps, a lack of proper information? Or is the past being viewed from a 1990 perspective? This Introduction introduces the allegations which I want to answer in this book. The main accusation is: "Gutsche and his Settlers are charged with persueing their own 'White Self-Interest' by lacking social and political concern." In order to answer this, first of all I discuss Oncken's Baptist Policies and Principles in Germany, **because** he was Gutsche's mentor and sent him to Kaffraria to organise Baptist Churches according to the Faith and Order of the German model. Then I will investigate whether Baptists of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries identify themselves with the radical militant wing of Müntzer's Anabaptists? And finally, I touch on relevant aspects of Colonialism.

I fear that Louise Kretzschmar did not know enough about the real state of affairs around 1870, as far as the German Baptists were concerned. She writes in her doctoral thesis

"The German Baptist settlers and their privatized theology and Euro-centric approach did not enable them to resist the temptation to conform with, and benefit from, colonialism ... This conformity with colonialism meant that the Baptist witness in South Africa was, from the outset, encapsulated within the confines of white self-interest."<sup>10</sup>

However, later she adds a little conciliatory rider to this:

"The Baptist settlers, cut off from support from home, out of touch with 19th century English Evangelical social critique, uninfluenced by contrary missionary opinion, with no real contact with independent Xhosa tribes, and committed to the promotion of their own settler interest, were, socially speaking, incapable of developing a prophetic Christian approach to their frontier context. Their Christian faith was practiced within the confines of their personal lives and the spiritual needs of their fellow settlers. For the rest, they sought to survive and

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2009, pp. 48-70. The work there was taken over by the Australian Baptist Missionary Society in 1968 (p. 78).

<sup>10</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, p. 157.

improve their prospects, even if this was ultimately at the expense of the indigenous African population."<sup>11</sup>

She concludes her chapter 5 with these observations:

"It is perhaps too much to expect the Baptists to have abandoned their own interests in support for the Xhosa. This small, somewhat beleaguered group did not have the insight or capacity to be radically different. It is easy to judge them on the basis of hindsight."<sup>12</sup>

I have a problem with Dr Kretzschmar's statement that Hugo Gutsche promoted a 'privatized' and solely 'spiritual' ministry among his people, thereby neglecting important wholistic aspects of the Christian faith. This suggests that he was a second-rate pastor, exercised a lopsided ministry and failed to teach his people the fully orbiculated life which enables them to discharge their duties to society. In particular she criticizes his lack of political involvement: He and his German Baptists should have helped the Xhosa in their liberation struggle by driving the British Settlers and soldiers out. Kretzschmar says:

"Privatization means the restriction of the Christian Gospel to the private, spiritual concerns of the individual. A privatized Gospel is a dualistic, individualistic, spiritualized, and a-contextual distortion of the Christian faith. It either deliberately avoids the public sphere or responds to it in an uncritical and ineffective manner, thus, it is vulnerable by group interests." (Abstract).

"The realization that Baptist origins are closely linked to the social radicalism of the 16th and 17th centuries should cause modern Baptists to question their present theological and social conservatism" (51).

"Christianity, then, has played a vital (and often destructive) role in South Africa's recent history. It is significant, however, that the South African Baptists have privatized their religious faith and thus, 'disengaged' it from the social milieu. By withdrawing, the South African Baptists have contributed to the process of secularization rather than combatting this process with a prophetic and vital social expression of their faith within the broad SA context" (13-14).

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 174.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 198.

"Social-political transformation is essential for a full Christian witness (7) ... but the majority of missionaries either supported colonialism or withheld social comment altogether." (13).

"Even today 'white' Baptists are isolated from the black consciousness and resistance movement ... and, thus, perpetuate a privatized and inward looking 'laager mentality' ... Their evangelical emphasis is on the personal appropriation of the Gospel ... and ends there" (19-20).

These statements can be challenged. Of course, their struggle for survival as immigrant families in a hostile and virgin land was their first priority before God and not egocentric 'self-interest'. But 'privatization' of their faith and 'inward looking laager mentality' were furthest from the mind of the early Baptist leaders (they had never heard of 'privatization,' this modern term coined by some liberation theologians in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). On the contrary, Langhein and Gutsche couldn't contain themselves and were so driven by the Spirit that they shared and taught the Gospel of Christ to all Germans everywhere. They had only one single focus: To preach Christ's forgiveness, help their fellow sufferers to bravely win the battle of self-preservation, overcome poverty by incessant labour and diligent studies, and please and enjoy God by holiness and personal devotion. In this empowerment toward a better life they included the Xhosa and Fingoe tribes in their backyards, for Gutsche had been called to Kaffraria to "organise and control the work"<sup>13</sup> and "to hurry up to bring the Gospel light to the many heathen"<sup>14</sup> And Oncken assured the Frankfurt Settlers, that he would send them

"a special man to preach and lead the flock, to start schools and negotiate with the authorities, for this he must be proficient in the English language."<sup>15</sup>

In other words, a suitable person would come to get involved in the pastoral, social, educational and communal life of their new country.

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<sup>13</sup> Full text in Supplement #2.

<sup>14</sup> Oskar Donian's urgent Macedonian call to Hamburg in his poem "Zuruf aus Afrika."

<sup>15</sup> Full text in Supplement #2.



From the outset, there was no 'laager mentality or avoiding the public sphere'.

As the spiritual pilgrimage of Gutsche and his German Baptists was influenced by the British revival movements of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and then moulded and characterized by the practical social Pietism of Francke and Tholuck in Halle, their ministry had a strong educational, social and practical flavour: They taught their settler converts to take roots in the new country and transform the wilderness and jungle of Kaffraria into a 'Garden of Eden' within one generation. Sir Gordon Sprigg, Prime minister of the Cape, during a parliamentary debate, had this to say:

"One only has to visit King Williams Town and East London to realize how these poor people within 25 years have transformed our country from a desert to a garden ... Out of them we have gained some of our best colonists and most loyal subjects."<sup>16</sup>

And General Goodenough, military commander at the Cape, adds these words, on the same occasion in the House:

"Wherever we see thriving farms and well-kept gardens we may be sure that German settlers are living in the homestead."<sup>17</sup>

From the documents it can be shown that Hugo Gutsche was a most conscientious, able and well qualified shepherd of his flock, educating and training them in spiritual and secular skills. He exercised a complete ministry among them, attending to their needs for 'body, mind and soul'. He was their down-to-earth leader and father figure, with great international vision and statesman-like programmes. These statements can be substantiated by the records from his work over a period of sixty years.

## **Oncken's Baptist Policies and Principles in Germany**

Even had he been tempted, yet Gutsche could not separate his preaching for personal repentance and individual faith in Jesus Christ from the

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<sup>16</sup> Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, p. 321.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

social uplifting of his poverty-stricken, disadvantaged and underprivileged people; because he was a first generation German Baptist with Johann Gerhard Oncken, the founder of the Continental movement in 1834, as his mentor. He became his personal assistant in the First Baptist Church Hamburg Böhmken Strasse and was groomed for South Africa by Oncken himself, who wrote to the Frankfurt Settlers:

Hamburg, 28 March 1865

"I will look around for a suitable man to fit the position and satisfy your requirements. I will leave no stone unturned to find this special man, to preach and lead the flock, to start schools and negotiate with the authorities, and he must be proficient in the English language. Such people are few and far between, we cannot produce them as a baker bakes his bread ... I am sure, you are short of good books. You might have other needs. All members should use this opportunity to get from Germany what they desire ... Yours in Christ, J G Oncken."<sup>18</sup>

Oncken himself was heavily involved in social work as the prime mover and secretary for the first Sunday School in Germany in 1825. Children were roaming the streets of Hamburg. He gathered them every Sunday afternoon for about two hours for teaching, reading and writing from the Bible, hymnbook and Catechism. This became such a popular and beneficial exercise that an attendance of up to 650 pupils was recorded.<sup>19</sup>

This was social involvement indeed. In like manner Gutsche opened grammar schools and commenced Sunday Schools and Youth work in South Africa whenever he started a new church. His diaries and letters testify of his deep conviction to exercise a threefold ministry in Kaffraria (1) to be a pastor and educator to the German Baptist Settlers, (2) to be a missionary to the Heathen and (3) as a qualified chemist to offer a healing ministry to all who were ill.

*This was the sole purpose of his coming: To minister to all inhabitants of Kaffraria, no matter what the colour of their skin was or what language*

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<sup>18</sup> Translated from the German original.

<sup>19</sup> Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, pp. 180, 254.

they spoke.<sup>20</sup> In addition, he would pray for those in authority, be friendly with local councillors, support orderly Government and seek the best of the towns according to the Scripture admonition:

"Seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which I have carried you into exile. Pray to the Lord for it, because if it prospers, you too will prosper" (Jer 29:7).

Disaster struck Hamburg when from 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> May 1842 one-third of the city centre was destroyed by a devastating fire and 4,219 buildings went up in flames in 75 streets, including the city hall and 3 churches. Over 20,000 lost their homes and more than 100 lost their lives. Oncken and his friends went into action immediately, opened their houses and accommodated and fed for a whole year at their own expense a considerable number of homeless families. An official letter of thanks came from the city's Senate a year later.<sup>21</sup> A lovely by-product of this relief programme and community service was the intense gratitude of the victims of which quite a few families got converted to become staunch members of the Church.

Earlier Oncken had started his own Publishing House, Tract Society and meetings to disseminate edifying Christian literature—both in German and English—as a philanthropic and missionary exercise. Bibles, hymnbooks and a large variety of C.H. Spurgeon's ("The Prince of Preachers") weekly sermons, lectures and commentaries came from Oncken's press in excellent German translations. He reports that during 1832 20,000 Bibles and 10,000 New Testaments were sold. He spent more than 10,000 Mark annually for printing and book-binding alone. These figures increased to 100,000 Bibles and 50,000 Testaments in 1849, when at least ten Baptist colporteurs peddled his devotional and popular literature countrywide. At that time, he employed 27 families to fold and sort brochures, booklets and tracts at home (*small business or home industries!*), which gave them a welcome income.<sup>22</sup> This was *social*

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<sup>20</sup> He was very proficient in English.

<sup>21</sup> Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*, Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984, p. 79-84; Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, pp. 180, 182.

<sup>22</sup> Margarete Jelten, *Unter Gottes Dachziegel*, Kassel: Oncken, 1984, pp. 83-87; Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*. Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984,

*involvement*, when Oncken's Baptists translated their faith into practical community service to improve the quality of life for the surrounding impoverished society. Gutsche in South Africa would continue this tradition.

Oncken and Spurgeon were friends and co-workers. The latter's Baptist orphanages in London were as famous as George Müller's in Bristol and August Hermann Francke's in Halle/Saale, whose "Waisenhäuser" were the first such institutions in the world. All these men, though "Pietists," displayed great practical social concern. Oncken in Europe and Gutsche in South Africa were fully persuaded to emulate the vision and example of those men of faith. Every single one of them, in Hamburg, London, Bristol, Halle and King Williams Town, did not engage in social work and charity for political reasons, their one and only motive was a compassionately evangelical one, namely to offer the poor and needy a personal knowledge and acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord, which automatically would upgrade their social, educational and moral standards.

It is not surprising to read the following statement of Louise Kretzschmar that

"The anti-intellectualism of Oncken's European members was carried over into South Africa. *There were very few educated pastors among the German Baptist settlers* and the theological education received by these pastors was centered on the European context. The lack of South African input was reinforced by the fact that, right up to 1950, all the German pastors were "imported" from Germany."<sup>23</sup>

This is one of many instances which must be forgiven because up to now no proper biography of Gutsche nor critical history of the German Baptist Churches in Kaffraria has been published, apart from individual commemorative pamphlets of local churches. It's simply a lack of

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pp. 1984:58; Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 2 vols, Kassel: Oncken, <sup>3</sup>1923, vol I, pp. 35-37.

<sup>23</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, p. 164 (my emphasis).

knowledge which leads to these and similar false assertions. A brief glance at Luckey's, Lehmann's and Balders' books on the original Oncken Team in Germany will reveal that some of them were nobles and aristocrats and quite a few were highly qualified and rich landowners or titled 'von' persons! We are not aware of the "anti-intellectualism of Oncken's European members," not from personal knowledge of the Baptists in Germany nor from the available literature about them.

The fact is that all "imported" German pastors—save one or two—were outstanding men with quality secular and theological education, although lacking a university degree in political science. Of course, Gutsche was first among them, and his children and grandchildren held civil, military, academic and political honours second to none. Pastor Paul Rode of East London (1904-1934) was a writer, poet and leader. His six children advanced into higher education; they have professors and doctors of medicine in their family. Pastor Paul Schnell of Keiskama Hoek (1904-1924) was a highly gifted person and sired a family which made a real contribution to South African history and education (for instance Edgar Schnell with a PhD from Rhodes). Pastor Erich Fleischmann of East London Porter Street (1934-1939 when he was interned at Baviaanspoort) was a linguist with a command of several Eastern languages, including Russian (he hailed from Riga). He was an accomplished musician at the piano, a master-organist and an artist of note. His paintings of South African scenery (water and oil) fetched high prices at his own and combined exhibitions. Pastor Paulus Langenberg of Bethany King Williams Town wrote several Bible commentaries which were published in Germany after the war (he was also interned in 1939). Other names could be added. Although controversial in some cases, these and all others were highly esteemed by their congregations. To brand them as uneducated men with limited knowledge is quite ludicrous; I knew the above-mentioned four families personally and can testify to their excellent spiritual and intellectual gifts. Since Oncken's time, Hamburg sent only the cream of their crop to South Africa; they knew that 'plain or simple' pastors could not survive the immense challenges and pressures waiting for them in Africa.

Of course, until the First World War just about everything in education, commerce and politics was European orientated and flavoured. Simply

because the South African Universities and Colleges made their impact and asserted their influence only from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, after the Boer War and the founding of the Union in 1910. Before this the infrastructure for a "South African input" hardly existed. That's why of John and Andrew Murray the younger it is reported:

"It soon became apparent that two such gifted boys could not be trained in the Cape Colony. After due consideration they were sent from Port Elizabeth to Aberdeen Scotland, in July 1838, when M was only ten years old ... After seven years of diligent study both obtained the MA degree. In June 1845 they left for Utrecht, Holland to study Dutch as well as theology."<sup>24</sup>

That's why Carl Hugo Gutsche took his two eldest sons Hugo and Philipp in 1880, when they were 11 and 8 years old, to study in Memel, Halle, Leipzig, Erlangen, London and Berlin, to get a proper education.<sup>25</sup>

## **On the Identification of Baptists and Anabaptists<sup>26</sup>**

Dr Louise Kretzschmar states in chapter 5:

"The German Baptists did not resemble their Anabaptist forbears. Partly, this lack of identification was a conscious effort on the part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Baptists, similar to that of some English Baptists: both groups repudiated Anabaptist extremism. Consequently, the more radical social implications of Anabaptism were never central to the theology of the German Baptists."

In pursuing this argument, she quotes C. Villa-Vicencio:

"Being custodians of the religion of the status quo, the missionaries consciously and unconsciously served the prevailing ideology of imperialist expansion."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> W.J. de Kock (ed), *Dictionary of South African Biography*. Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1968, p. 575.

<sup>25</sup> \*The later born children were educated in South Africa.

<sup>26</sup> \*In the dissertation the heading is: "Do Baptists of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries identify themselves with the radical militant wing of Thomas Müntzer's Anabaptists?"

<sup>27</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and

The fact of the matter is, however, that over the last 400 years Baptists have strongly condemned the radical wing around Thomas Müntzer (c 1489-1525) and equally the militant "reformation" in Münster in Westphalia (1534-35). Baptists like to be identified with the Swiss and German founders such as Balthasar Hubmaier, Georg Blaurock, Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, Professor Hans Denck of Augsburg, the early Ulrich Zwingli and Menno Simons. The distinctive teachings of *these* 'Anabaptists' were

1. Believers' baptism, and Communion in both kinds
2. Church Discipline
3. Holy Living and 'Separation from the World';
4. Freedom of Conscience;
5. Independent Free Churches without interference from the State, and
6. *Conscientious objection to carrying arms or doing military service.*<sup>28</sup>

It is obvious that Louise Kretzschmar did not have access to the enormous amount of new research literature on the Anabaptists during the Reformation. Continental and American historians have unearthed thousands of documents and records from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and revealed the true nature and convictions of the Anabaptists under persecution and victimization.<sup>29</sup>

Jan Vink quite rightly questions David Hunter's statement that

"The Anabaptist traditions are traditions of liberation"

whereas their documents prove that the main stream fought for liberty of *conscience* and freedom to *worship* according to New Testament principles. They objected to the interference and harassment by the

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consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, pp. 165 & 171; Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1988, p. 44.

<sup>28</sup> Franklin H. Littell, 1966, p. 28-32, 149-152, my emphasis.

<sup>29</sup> See Section " Important Books on the Emergence and Doctrinal Position of the Anabaptists or Free Churches, the Left Wing of the Reformation" in the Bibliography for several pertinent references.

State and Roman Catholic/Lutheran bodies. This was not so much a political but rather an *ecclesiastical* issue.<sup>30</sup>

Both, Kretzschmar and Villa-Vicencio, are writing about the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century from a late 20<sup>th</sup> Century perspective, it is a classic example of super-imposing the Anti-Apartheid struggles, the ideologies of modern Liberation Theology, the slogans of Black Consciousness and recent African Nationalism upon a totally different political scenario 150 years earlier, when bread and butter issues and survival mattered most to the harassed Settlers. To prescribe 150 years later what they should have done, and how they must be ashamed of themselves, is arrogant and disregards the historical perspective and ever changing ways and fortunes of political history. Hudson-Reed, our South African Baptist historian, expresses the same complaint by observing

"An ever present danger in recording history is the tendency to superimpose contemporary patterns of thought on the events recorded. Seen through modern eyes many of the genuine attempts to grapple with problems as they occurred in the evolution of our missionary enterprise and policy-making receive judgemental treatment. What was seen by our forebears as a God-given duty of parenting for maturity could be adjudged as paternalism today. That mistakes were made and that the governmental system under which they worked was inimical to a speedy pathway to maturity there can be no doubt. The perusal of the available material indicates, however, that the SABMS policy was sincerely held and pursued with diligence and dedication. In modern terms the policy which developed was 'the evangelism of the Blacks by the Blacks.'"<sup>31</sup>

Theologically, those modern doctrines mentioned above are poles apart from Oncken and Gutsche with their Christo-centric preaching of salvation and their understanding of the ministry and nature of the church. Their Jesus was not a political activist who took up arms and

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<sup>30</sup> Jan Vink, *The Impact of Liberation Theology on the Baptist Union of Southern Africa*, PhD, University of Witwatersrand, 1993, pp. 70-71, my emphasis; quoted from David Hunter's paper "The origin of Baptists with special reference to Anabaptists."

<sup>31</sup> Sydney Hudson-Reed, *Channels for 100 Years of Missionary Endeavour 1892-1992*; Pitermaritzburg: South African Baptist Historical Society, 1992, p. 19.



drove out the wicked Roman oppressors and occupation forces. Instead He said "Respect Caesar and give him his due." Why, then, should Gutsche in South Africa become a 'radical' Anabaptist?

Oncken and his First Baptist Church in Hamburg stipulated in their "Confession of Faith" from the year 1847, Article XIV:

"Unsere Gemeinden haben nirgends eine politische Tendenz"  
(Nowhere do our churches have a political inclination).

The Lord Mayor of Hamburg confirms that "indeed the Baptists did not participate in the revolutionary demonstrations and revolts during the years 1848/49."<sup>32</sup> Because they did not take to the streets and join the unruly crowds, and because Oncken did not deliver fiery revolutionary sermons from his pulpit, the Hamburg Senators were favourably disposed toward the Baptists and granted them Concession- and Corporation Rights. In the beginning of 1850 most restrictions against the Baptists were lifted; the window shutters were opened wide while the grateful congregation sang lustily during the services. Oncken had managed to lead his flock out of the catacombs into the light of public worship. Unfortunately, this new freedom applied only to the relatively small area of the Hanseatic city of Hamburg. On the question during a members' meeting of 3 April 1848 whether Baptists were allowed to wear the new national colours of black-red-gold, chairman Oncken replied that "Everybody should act according to his or her conscience but must refrain from judging others who think differently."<sup>33</sup>

In his Bible studies and exegesis on the last seven verses of John's Gospel Oncken warns his church: "Have nothing to do with the confusion and riots of the 'Democratic Clubs' and do not attend the meetings of the Socialistic Trade Unions."<sup>34</sup> Oncken's memoirs contain the following sentences about the revolution 1848-49:

"When the political pot in Hamburg boiled over, when Jews and Gentiles, and every Tom, Dick and Harry rebelled against the existing

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<sup>32</sup> Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, p. 209; Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*. Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984, p. 93.

<sup>33</sup> Böhmken Strasse Minutes 1:147.

<sup>34</sup> Böhmken Strasse Minutes 1:129, 11:403, 462.

authorities and thereby joined the party and forces of Satan, all boundaries disappeared and law and order lay in the gutter to be trodden upon. At this time, we Baptists were the only religious community in Hamburg which did not participate in violence and revolts - although we were also longing for liberation and justice. Christians may not be revolutionists! ... In the midst of this state of turmoil I served as a corporal in the Civil Vigilante Group. In addition, the authorities knew that none of our church members had taken part in the uprisings. Therefore, Mayor Binder and his Senate became our best friends. They repeatedly had discussions with us."<sup>35</sup>

Coming from this Hamburg tradition and stance, militant political revolutions were not on Gutsche's agenda! Just as well. For political trouble makers and agitators were not welcomed into British Kaffraria but either incarcerated, executed or repatriated without mercy. When the Cape Province became English in 1795 the new Governor Sir George Young asked London to send a Lutheran Pastor for the German Strand Street Church. The ambassador from the Royal Court of Hanover, Privy Councillor von Lenthe, wrote to Downing Street the following letter, dated 3 May 1799:

"Es wird von demselben besonders verlangt, dass er ein frommer, gelehrter und seinen Pflichten treuer Mann sei, der dem Könige ergeben und den Gesetzen Gehorsam zu leisten willig sei. Auch muss derselbe die holländische Sprache verstehen, keine Neigung zur Politik haben und vor allen Dingen kein Anhänger der Revolutionslehre und der neuen Grundsätze sein. Man würde ihn von der Stelle removieren, sobald man dergleichen an ihm wahrnähme."<sup>36</sup>

English translation:

"The Governor Sir George wants a pastor who leads a devout life, is learned and conscientious, loyal to the King and promises to keep the laws of the colony. He is required to understand the Dutch language but must not have any political aspirations or plans. On no account should he be a disciple of the revolution and its new principles. He

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<sup>35</sup> Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, pp. 208-210.

<sup>36</sup> Heinz von Delft, *Kirchbau am Kap*. Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1993, p. 7.

would be removed immediately should he engage in political utterances or activities."

If Gutsche wanted to organise and pastor his new churches and preach to the Natives, it would be better for him to continue as he was trained under Oncken, by discharging his spiritual ministry in the biblical non-violent pietistic and evangelical ways—or he would be sent home in disgrace.

On the 6 June 1869 he wrote in his notebook, after a heavy day at Braunschweig, feeling sick in the evening and overwhelmed by the harsh realities of his task:

"The care of souls is the gravest task of my ministry. May God have mercy on me should I take this lightly! How heavy this burden rests on me, and how much pain and fear I suffer God alone knows. So many people are my responsibility. O that some would help und understand. I have to give an account of my work before God; my own salvation is involved, if I do not faithfully preach the truth. If some think other preachers would make it easier to follow Christ, then let them go. I am bound to proclaim the Gospel, not counting the cost."<sup>37</sup>

Carl Hugo Gutsche came to South Africa as a trained Chemist to dispense medicine to the sick, as a missionary to work among the heathen, and as a Pastor to care for the immigrants of the Baptist persuasion who were in dire need of a shepherd. His new flock were the poorest of the poor, mostly German ex-serfs who had just escaped from the feudal princes and landlords and were now free for the first time in their lives. What they wanted and needed most was peace, not insurrection!

Many of them could not read or write and in the beginning were ignorant of English. Now they actually owned a piece of land, though unaware of the fact that large tracts had been taken from the Blacks. It was virgin bush. Famine, pests and wild beasts ruined what they had planted; buck and elephants ate the crops and leopards killed their lambs. The sun parched the ground and beasts died from lack of water. Initially, the surrounding native tribes were better off, they had their huts and cattle and were, understandably, extremely hostile to the new "intruders":

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<sup>37</sup> Also quoted by Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, p. 34.

*Harassed settlers like those are quite incapable of rising up against the 'powers that be'! To join the Xhosa Tribes and drive the 'white intruders' out was impracticable for they were white themselves and only too happy to exchange swords for plough shares.* In the following chapters I will illustrate and substantiate the above comments.

The immigrants had survived the violence and disorders of the 1848 February-March revolutions back home. Their fathers were still haunted by the memories of the bloodshed during the French Revolution. The American Civil War 1861-1864 between the Southern and Northern States with the victory of Abraham Lincoln had just ended. Slavery had been abolished, first in England (1833), then in South Africa (1834) and now in America. The horror stories of those conflicts were in everybody's mind. The few hundred German Legionaries who had stayed behind in Kaffraria were glad to be alive, having escaped the carnage of Sevastopol and the Crimean War. Therefore, as far as the Germans were concerned, they did not need nor want another war. Revolts and rebellion against their new (white British) masters were furthest from their mind. When they asked J.G. Oncken in Hamburg for help, he sent Gutsche, who came to evangelize and not revolutionize.

In writing about Gutsche and evaluating his work I firmly believe that we first of all have to study the background and nature of *the spiritual, intellectual, economical and political climate of the second half of the 19th Century* in which he found himself. Disregarding historical facts inevitably leads to distortions and misrepresentations. A false premise invites wrong conclusions. To take a man out of his time and judge him by today's standards does not do him justice. In that way it is easy to win any argument and make fantastic statements—out of context.

### **Three Aspects of Colonialism**

We cannot choose our parents nor decide in which century or place we would like to be born to make our contribution to history, for better or worse. As Christians we believe that God made us in His perfect time and destined us for a specific purpose in His sovereign plan:

"God made us and determined the times and exact places where we should live ... for in him we live and move and have our being (Ac

17:26 & 28) ... according to the plan of him who works out everything in conformity with the purpose of his will ... for the praise of his glory" (Eph 1:11-12).

Therefore, Gutsche's arrival in British Kaffraria during the height of the border conflicts and troubles between the white rulers and the black tribes was beyond his control. All he wanted was to be faithful to God's call, but at the same time he had to face the realities of, and the arguments about colonialism.

Several European powers entered Africa at different times to develop the continent and rule the native tribes: The Portuguese came in 1514 and 1648 to Angola/Luanda and in 1632 to Mozambique. The Dutch East Indian Company sent Jan Van Riebeeck in 1652 to the Cape of Good Hope to found a refreshment station for the ships to East India. French troops occupied Algeria, the Sahara Desert and the Congo regions from between 1830 and 1890 onwards. Britain took possession of the Cape Province in 1795 and established additional African colonies between 1850 and 1900. The explorer of equatorial Africa, Sir Henry Morton Stanley (of David Livingstone fame) founded the Congo Free State for the Belgian King Leopold II in 1879. Italy conquered Eritrea in 1881 and Ethiopia in 1889, and finally, Bismarck's Germany scrambled for the left-overs such as South West Africa 1884, German East Africa 1886 and Cameroon 1893, all to be lost again in 1918 after the First World War.

England got the biggest slice. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Queen Victoria as head of the United Kingdom and Empress of India possessed the biggest colonial empire in the world; over her realm 'the sun never set'.<sup>38</sup>

For our purpose we have to touch on at least three aspects of Colonization under which Gutsche had to operate: The *economical, political and theological* points of view.

Those who strongly object to the coming of Jan van Riebeeck—albeit post mortem—should take note of the inherent adventurous spirit of

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<sup>38</sup> This information is taken from *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* 1909-1912. Bibliographische Institute Leipzig & Wien, 24 vols., under the headings 'Colonies' of the respective countries.

human nature and consider the laws of history with the causes and effects of human migration which shaped and reshaped world events for better or worse; for millennia it brought turmoil and massive political changes to our planet. Why this happened and whether this mass migration was desirable or necessary, does not concern us in the context of this book.

The fact is, people have long sought to spread out from their places of origin, whether they crossed by land from Asia to North America, or boarded wooden ships westbound from Europe, or pushed through vast forests, deserts and mountain ranges of Africa from North to South. We think of the Viking ships on the high seas bound for Iceland or the Exodus of the Israelites under Moses from Egypt to Canaan around 1500 BC. Virtually, all of us have such journeys in our family history. My Haus ancestors, for instance, emigrated in 1775 from the Black Forest on small Danube boats via Vienna to the Carpathian Mountains of Galicia. Fortunately, in 1921 my parents fled with me as war refugees and re-settled in West Germany. It is estimated "that 60 million Europeans left their homes from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century comprising pilgrims and settlers, religious, political and other groups."<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, right from the beginning of our recorded history we find whole continents being invaded by unsettled nomads. Not much later the ancient dynasties of Egypt, Chaldea, Babylon and Greece were driven by a spirit of enquiry to conquer and rule. In the wake of such conquests communication channels opened up, new cultures arose and learning increased rapidly. By the time of Christ Rome was the Capital of the world, ruled supreme and became the first city with a population of over one million people.

This spirit of enterprise and discovery drove Bartholomeu Dias in 1486 to the Cape of Good Hope (Cape of Storms) und Vasco da Gama in 1498 to reach India via the Cape. Christopher Columbus was convinced that the earth was round and not flat and figured that if he sailed westwards he eventually should get to India that way. Instead he discovered the Americas during the four voyages 1492-1504. One couldn't stop David Livingstone to search for the source of the Nile nor Robert Falcon Scott to

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<sup>39</sup> Nat Geograph Oct 98:11.

reach the South Pole in 1911 to plant the British flag, only to find that Roald Amundsen of Norway had beaten him by a month. Sir Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay in 1953 became the first to reach the summit of Mount Everest. The astronaut Neil Armstrong was the first man to walk on the moon in July 1969 and planted the American flag on the surface. When he left his Apollo 11 space ship stepping down the ladder he said "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." As long as man lives and the earth continues to spin, nothing can stop him from invading uncharted or hidden places on the face of the earth! As long as Matterhorn, Table Mountain and Kilimanjaro exist, people will climb them.

Therefore, who wants to seriously challenge and blame France, The Netherlands or Britain to covet the Cape since 1652 and not rest until they had taken possession?

*The Economic Challenge:* As long as there is gold in the bowels of the earth, it will be mined. Tapping the rich resources of African minerals and raw materials in a businesslike way makes sense. To leave the crude oil beneath the waves or desert sands, to ignore the gold and diamonds below, to do without coffee and cocoa, tea leaves and jungle trees, seems an unforgiveable waste. Living conditions for the natives would improve with proper infra structures. Health care, education and public schools, technical colleges and universities would after a generation or two create an indigenous middle class ready to take on responsibilities and skills to run their own affairs. At least, that's what the big magnates thought and aimed at ...

Sadly, because of human greed and selfishness, exploitation and robbery, the indigenous people often became slaves of their white masters. They received medicine and education, but liquor, venereal diseases and germs were also introduced which sometimes wiped out whole tribes. With the good came the bad; racial prejudice was rife everywhere. Colonization became a mixed blessing and showed the two sides of all human endeavours. Could the curse have been avoided? Definitely not, for there are the sharks sneaking around to kill, and the lions seeking to devour their prey. With all the modern discoveries of electricity, telephone, airoplanes, railways, motor cars, radio and television sets it was inevitable that man would travel to the ends of the earth to conquer

and get rich quickly. Those in the way would be ruthlessly removed by intrigue or open violence. If the English had not arrived in 1795, the French, Portuguese or whoever would have come, inevitably! With hindsight, were the English to be preferred? This is debatable.—Was there, perhaps, more injury than compassion in the colonial system? Because, sometimes the Blacks were treated inhumanely, even murdered for gain and convenience's sake.

*The Political Aspect:* From their perspective, the Governors of the Cape and Ministers at Downing Street did what they thought was right for the British Crown and their subjects in South Africa, under the prevailing circumstances. To use a modern slogan and in-word: They did the **P.C.** (Politically Correct) thing. It goes without saying 'what was P.C. 150 years ago is not P.C. today'. The laws and rules of imperial Kings or Queens were different. Today, the political climate, policies and world opinions have drastically changed, even within the last thirty years. History confirms that Queen Victoria and Sir George Grey in Cape Town did what was P.C. to defend the borders and strengthen Her Majesty's possessions. It was a matter of life or death for the whole Colony.

It is a historical fact that Sir George Grey, by establishing white settlements among the Natives, pursued a policy of interspersing European and Native settlements that they might live together as a sort of black and white chequer board. There were no fixed lines of demarcation. - His other motive was clearly the civilization of the Xhosa by the erection of schools, colleges and hospitals.<sup>40</sup>

He appointed Dr John Patrick Fitz-Gerald (1815-1897) as head of all Medical Departments. Under his administration the first Native hospitals were established "for the overcoming of the evils and oppressions of witchcraft" starting in 1856 with the Pensioners' Village One in King Williams Town and (Anglican) St Matthew's mission station and hospital (near Keiskama Hoek). Queenstown Frontier Hospital was opened in 1875 and East London's Frere Hospital (12 beds) in 1880.

Dale College King Williams Town started on 6 Sept 1877. East London had an Anglican school since 1863 and a second one in the Panmure village run by Lutheran pastor H. Müller, which was renamed Selborne College

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<sup>40</sup> Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, p. 41.



in 1907. All this took place while Mr Dale was Education Superintendent in Kaffraria, hence 'Dale College'. Lovedale at Alice was even established before Dale's time, in 1841 (!), a magnificent educational, vocational and social centre, founded by the Scottish Free Church missionaries. Thousands of all races call this institution blessed; its influence can hardly be measured.<sup>41</sup>

Sir George initiated, stimulated and accelerated this process of upliftment, the consequences of which even he could hardly have foreseen. However, employment in industries and partial urbanization had the side-effect of weakening tribal structures and laws. Soil erosion, cattle diseases and the European way of life would have changed the habits and customs of the Natives in any case, sooner or later. It was inevitable that progress would bring repercussions in its wake.

To suggest that the white immigrants should never have come to Africa or that the German Settlers should have joined the Natives to drive the British into the Indian Ocean for them to drown like Pharaoh and his Egyptians, is a ridiculous suggestion. Interaction of Europe and Africa would have happened inevitably—rather sooner than later, even without the British and German Settlers of 1820 and 1856-58. One cannot possibly turn the clock back and judge Sir George Grey by today's standards. To take a man out of his historical setting and tell him in the light of today how he should have acted in 1855 is simplistic.

There remains the theological argument: Wouldn't it have been better to have left the primitive tribes alone in their own happy and peaceful estate of contentment and innocence? The question is: Were they content and happy? Justifiably one spoke of the dark African Continent one or two centuries ago when witchcraft, ancestor worship, cannibalism, tribal warfare and superstition reigned supreme in the jungle and kept the masses in bondage. With the arrival of colonists and

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<sup>41</sup> Burton 1950, p. iv, 288-292. - \*Malawi is no exception here. Six of the early Livingstonia missionaries in Malawi were Lovedale graduates, among them William Koyi, the first Christian missionary to what is now Mzuzu City, at that time Kaning'ina, where I edit this book, in 1878, and he was also the pioneer missionary to the Ngoni (Jack Thompson, *Ngoni, Xhosa and Scot. Religious and Cultural Interaction in Malawi*, Zomba: Kachere, 2007, pp. 34-72).

missionaries, primitive tribes entered the gradual process of civilization and development. The establishment of Christian churches, schools, hospitals and other institutions liberated the black masses from witchcraft and other destructive habits to a new and fuller life.

The overriding motive for missionary societies was the Great Commission of Jesus Christ: '*Go ye into **all** the world and preach the gospel and make disciples*' (Mt 28:18-20). This command is timeless and universal.

The well-known and revered Dutch Reformed minister Andrew Murray of Wellington-Stellenbosch fame sat with Gutsche on mission committees and had this to say in 1906:

"The aim of missions is none other than the aim of Christ Jesus himself, to seek and save the lost, to give life from the dead. Has this result been obtained? Thank God, of thousands and thousands the missionaries have born testimony to the mighty grace of God in changing a degraded Bushman or a proud Kaffir into a humble and happy disciple of Christ. Has this proved itself in the life and character? Thank God, it has done so abundantly.

"And what of the building up of a native Church? American missionaries are no longer pastors of the native churches on their stations. They have appointed native pastors on each station, and act as supervisors. The Free Church in Kaffraria ... holding themselves free to train the native pastors for their future work. And self-supporting and self-governing Churches are on the increase. The 200 ordained natives give hope for the future."<sup>42</sup>

"When the Rev M.C. Vos arrived from Holland and preached at Tulbagh he began at once classes for the heathen. This aroused opposition, but he continued the work, nothing daunted ... When he became minister at Caledon in 1811, he gathered the slaves who appeared to be in earnest, and after examining them in presence of the congregation, he baptized them. He writes: 'What a heavenly day I felt it to be, when for the first time I might celebrate the Lord's Supper in my church with a company of slaves, who had believed through grace.' The day was a remarkable one for the whole

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<sup>42</sup> Andrew Murray, *The Kingdom of God in South Africa. A Survey of Missions to the Heathen South of the Zambesi*, Cape Town: SAGM, London: Nisbet, 1906, p. 33.

congregation, some of the masters choosing to sit down with their slaves at the same table, while some, as they afterwards told me, cried with tears: "O God, my slave goes to Heaven, and I must perish! O! bless me as Thou hast blessed my slave."<sup>43</sup>

"When John Knox laid down the principle at the time of the Reformation that every Church ought to have its school, he set his stamp, not only on all Scotland, but on its Missions to the most distant parts of the world ... In the course of time the Church is beginning to see everywhere that in her education she can get possession of the native in the most impressive stage of his life, and that the teaching of God's Word in the Mission School may as truly, and in some respects more effectually, be a means of grace, no less than the preaching ... Evangelistic and educational work need never come into collision, if, in both, the power of God's Spirit is equally depended on, and sought for.

"The Scotch Mission is most widely known through the Institution at Lovedale from its small beginning in 1841 ... It is training young men and women as teachers for Native Mission Schools; in giving prominence to Industrial Work, both in trades and in agriculture; and in giving to all the needful knowledge by which they can be fitted for their station in life. We try to fit them to become useful and industrious citizens, and to become also missionaries of Christianity and civilization to other natives of Africa whom they may reach. We believe in conversion, and regard that as the best and highest result of our work."<sup>44</sup>

These three quotations are a clear indication of the missionary climate and zeal prevailing in South Africa during the second half of the 19th Century and confirm that anyone coming from Europe to South Africa to do business or govern the new territories had to accept that many missionaries and pastors would arrive as well—Gutsche was one of them—to do their spiritual, educational, social and medical work. William Carey's Baptist Missionary Society of 1792 ('Attempt great things for God, expect great things from God') was the catalyst of the modern missionary

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Andrew Murray, *The Kingdom of God in South Africa. A Survey of Missions to the Heathen South of the Zambesi*, Cape Town: SAGM, London: Nisbet, 1906, p. 10.

movement; he left his cobbler's bench to evangelize the masses of India.<sup>45</sup>

Not to go to Africa would have meant disobedience to God's call for David Livingstone and Mary and Robert Moffat; to ignore China's many millions was unthinkable for James Hudson Taylor.<sup>46</sup> Hugo Gutsche felt the call to the Christian ministry immediately after his conversion and baptism in Halle (Christmas 1864). This call was irresistible, which led him to abandon his promising professional and academic career. A year later, an overpowering urge drew him to the African Continent. In February 1866 he applied to the Rhenish Mission in Wuppertal as a candidate for South Africa, but was turned down (because of his Baptist convictions?)<sup>47</sup> Still, he bought the basic surgical instruments, including a microscope, and prepared a big wooden crate with pills, powders and other medicines for Africa's mission fields, convinced that an invitation would arrive, sooner or later. It was only in the latter half of 1867, 15 months after the Rhenish application had been turned down, and after months of praying and looking for a helper to accompany him to Africa (for Oncken did not want him to go it alone), that the cry for help from the Kaffrarian Baptist Settlers found open ears and was discussed in Hamburg resulting in Gutsche's coming to South Africa in the dual capacity as missionary to the Blacks and pastor to the white Settlers. These men and many other pioneer preachers had no choice. It was the Lord's imperative, not an option. Gutsche was just a 'normal and ordinary' Christian whose

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<sup>45</sup> \*The starting point of the modern Protestant Missionary Movement was: William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Employ Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, Leicester: Ann Ireland, 1792. – For the effects of William Carey on Africa see: Klaus Fiedler, *The First Religious Geography of Africa: William Carey and his Enquiry*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, (forthcoming 2019).

<sup>46</sup> \*Hudson Taylor never set foot on African soil, but the missionary movement he sparked off contributed much to the evangelization of Africa, reaching many areas which the Classical Missions had not been able to reach (Klaus Fiedler, *Interdenominational Faith Missions in Africa. History and Ecclesiology*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2018).

<sup>47</sup> \*The Rhenish Mission was interdenominational, but its interdenominationalism was restricted to candidates from churches with infant baptism, in practical terms Lutheran and Reformed.

personal conversion made him a member of a 'normal missionary minded church' which was obliged to gain other converts for Christ worldwide. Or to give an up-to-date perspective:

"The initial missionary outreach had its fervour blunted during the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the deadening effects of humanistic ideas and liberal theology. Later missionaries were often not evangelical. God then raised up many new interdenominational missions to take the Gospel to the world ... The growth of Evangelicalism in Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia continues at a rate far higher than the population growth. Africa is rapidly becoming, nominally, a Christian Continent - more than half of Black Africa now claims to be Christian ... The pessimism of many Christians in the West about the decline of Christianity is not based on reality, though there is a great declension visible in the Western World."<sup>48</sup>

It was Gutsche's conviction and programme that all creatures in all continents need salvation through repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. Which meant that all heathen cults and evil practices had to change. For example, atheistic and oriental philosophies like re-incarnation, nirvana, pantheism, ancestor-worship and human sacrifices had no place in the Christian terminology and doctrine. *Cultural change was inevitable wherever converts accepted Christ as their Lord*, for Paul says in 2 Cor 5:17

"If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come!"

Social patterns have to change after humans accept Christ and are regenerated by the Spirit of God. God-centred worldviews have to replace animism and a thousand other 'gods'. Killings and tribal wars will have to cease between Christian Blacks; their transformed lifestyle will not necessarily take on European fashions and customs but certainly has to comply with Biblical standards. For Scripture says:

"Salvation is found in no one else, for there is no other name (under heaven) given to men by which we must be saved" [but the name of Jesus] - Acts 2:12.

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<sup>48</sup> Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World. A Handbook for World Intercession*, Bromley: STL and Dorothea Mission, 1978, pp. 24-26.

Today this exclusive claim of the Gospel is unpopular in our global, multicultural and multifaith society where the inclusive 'New Age religion' tries to equalize, tolerate and compromise. Gutsche stuck to the ancient Creed: I believe in One God, the Creator of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ His Son, Saviour of the whole world; and in the Holy Spirit as guide, comforter and helper of all believers. – The theological argument for missions in Africa and elsewhere is conclusive. *Gutsche and Murray, among thousands of other missionaries, cared for the spiritual, physical, intellectual and social needs of all races.* The charge of selfish, 'privatized,' unbalanced and harmful ministry *is false and holds no water, as far as Gutsche and his Baptist witness are concerned.*

I am convinced that Hugo Gutsche's Church and Mission policies are not outdated but can still serve as a prototype for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century in advancing the cause of Christ.

## Chapter 1: The First 24 Years in Germany (1843 - 1867)

To analyse a person's character one has to go back to the roots; for we all are a mixture of the peculiarities, eccentrics, personalities and conventions which we inherited from our forebears. The patient blood of generations of persevering peasants, labourers and farmers runs in our veins, for better or worse. From early times, some of them broke out of their agricultural communities and rose to higher positions. In the line of our genealogical tables and on the wall of our ancestral galleries we repeatedly find our own portrait in surprising likeness ...

To probe Gutsche's principles, methods, thinking and actions we discover important clues and pointers in his childhood and youth in the historical milieu of the German Kingdoms of Saxony and Prussia.

Etymologically, the name *Gutsche* is derived from the Gothic roots *Godaz* or *Gudha*, which mean good, angels, and God. It could also stand for an amiable disposition, good-naturedness and honest dependability.

Modern High German versions of *Gutsche* are Gute, Gutz, Guthke, Gotsch, Gobbel(s), Gottlich, Gutschalk, Gottschalk and many more variations.<sup>49</sup> Some family members feel, however, that another interpretation might be more correct: In the early days "K" and "G" were very often substituted for each other, and it is believed that the name 'Gutsche' was originally 'Kutsche,' which means a coach or carriage. This makes sense, as they originated from humble farming stock. In the Berlin directory of 1914 we find over 100 Gutsche families listed which increased by Sept 1938 to more than 300. Quite a few Gutsche families are found in the USA, Poland, Russia and Namibia (formerly South West Africa). Surprisingly enough the Gutsche name turns up as early as 1750 in the lineage of the de Villiers family of the Cape!<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Heintze-Cascorbi, *Die deutschen Familiennamen*, Halle: Waisenhaus Presse, 1933, p. 45.

<sup>50</sup> Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939, p. 6.

They can trace their ancestry back to 1553 in Grünberg [\*now Zielona Góra] of Silesia where they lived as farmers in the same farm house for several hundred years and were of the Lutheran faith until 1864, when Carl Hugo Gutsche became the first Baptist or "heretic/ sectarian."<sup>51</sup>

It is a sad fact that almost another century had to pass until the Baptists in Germany were accepted as 'normal' Christians, when the 'sectarian' label was removed and the hand of fellowship extended to them by the Territorial Churches. This change of attitude at the end of World War II occurred when the American and British Occupation Forces opened their offices for Religious Affairs across the country and were favourably disposed towards the Baptists, because many Allied soldiers and officers were of the same faith. Even the United States' President Harry Truman belonged to a Baptist Denomination. Permits and generous donations in cash and kind worth several million Dollars were received from America and England after 1945 to rebuild the colleges and restart Oncken's publishing house.<sup>52</sup> Surplus Nissen huts and ex-military office or home furniture enabled them to start crèches and youth hostels.<sup>53</sup>

Several Gutschees left the villages to become teachers, pastors, artisans, tradesmen, mayors, town councillors or civil servants. Johann Wilhelm Gutsche, Carl Hugo's father, is a case in point. He started as an apprentice in the justice departments of the Saxon and Prussian Kingdoms, then was promoted to financial controller of several law courts and finally became Chief Auditor (by Royal Appointment) at Halle/Saale, where he retired in 1867 just when Carl Hugo left for South Africa.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* 1909-1912. Bibliographische Institute Leipzig & Wien. 24 vols, XI, p. 358 & XVIII, p. 310 Sekten; Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 2 vols, Kassel: Oncken, <sup>3</sup>1923, p. 62-65.

<sup>52</sup> \*I spent my first two years in publishing as a magazine editor in the Oncken Publishing House, no longer in Hamburg but in Kassel, which did some printing for Hugo Gutsche and his churches a century ago.

<sup>53</sup> Hans Luckey, *Predigerseminar Hamburg-Horn im Jubiläumsjahr 1955*, Hamburg: Spoeri, 1955, p. 22; Haus 1988, p. 170.

<sup>54</sup> Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939, pp. 10, 11, 36.



We can observe the following typical Gutsche traits: They are usually of stocky build and short to medium height, gifted as speakers and writers, with several managers and leaders thrown in. Many of them lose their hair early. Shortsightedness runs in the family for generations. While they are hardworking and diligent, they also enjoy good meals and leisure without undue indulgence or excess. They like to stick to the traditional morals and orthodox beliefs. In their relationship with others they are good-willed, benevolent and sociable with an ever-present readiness to help. However, several Gutsche families have been rather unyielding to keep leadership positions and other privileges.<sup>55</sup>

## Childhood and Youth

Carl Hugo Gutsche was born on the 20 April 1843 at Delitzsch Saxony as the fifth of seven children. His father and mother were Chief Auditor (Rechnungsrat) Johann Wilhelm and Marie Dorothea Friedrike nee Pabst.<sup>56</sup> In his third year the father was transferred to Naumburg/Saale, the birthplace of mother Marie.<sup>57</sup> While Carl Hugo had been too young to appreciate the castles of the Princes and several minor public structures in his birthplace, he was now fully able to enjoy the attractions and gems of beautiful Naumburg, with the Naumburger Dom as the town's most famous symbol and landmark.<sup>58</sup> This cathedral, going back to the 11<sup>th</sup> Century, and Lutheran since the Reformation, distinguished itself by the four tall spires at the corners of the dome and the inside stone reliefs and figures of a three-dimensional sculpture presentation of the highest quality.

These 12 prominent statues are hewn out from the pillars which form a semicircle. Just as well, they are of one piece with the vertical support columns and therefore immovable! In 1919, as part of the "Peace Treaty"

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>56</sup> "Frau Rechnungsrat," as was the custom in those days to address the wives of doctors, professors, lawyers and other professionals by the title of their husbands.

<sup>57</sup> Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939 p. 36.

<sup>58</sup> Perhaps as unique as Cologne Cathedral, St Peter's in Rome and the Strassburg Munster, though smaller.

of Versailles, those twelve treasures of art were demanded by France as compensation for the destruction of the Cathedral of Reims. Fortunately this could not be executed without destroying the very structure and safety of the roof. - Taking pride of place is the world-reknown statue of the indescribably serene and beautiful Markgräfin Uta neé Gräfin von Ballenstedt (countess), the wife of Markgraf Ekkehard II of Meissen (earl or margrave). Numerous other statues of all periods or places in standing or leaning positions are found all around the cathedral, full of dramatic tension by varying from tender love to red-hot anger and from acceptance to destructive rejection. This dramatic expression also pervades the several scenes from the last days of Christ, his arrest, trial by Pilate, and his crucifixion.<sup>59</sup>

The miracle of Naumburg is that these figures of art were already 400 years old when the Thirty Years War devastated Central Europe, for the Dome was dedicated in 1042 and rebuilt in 1242! It is also amazing that those architects, builders and earls in the eleventh century had such tremendous faith and hope in the future that they planned and constructed an edifice of such magnitude and magnificence to the glory of God and their own skill, when Naumburg was just a village with a population of about a thousand people.<sup>60</sup> The Town Hall, Supreme Court complex and numerous patrician buildings, castles and lesser royal residences were also part of Naumburg, where Carl Hugo walked around in the quest of discovery as every young boy is apt to do. In Naumburg and Halle Gutsche acquired his life-long appreciation for the arts, beauty, culture and aesthetic values which gave him so much pleasure. He started his education in the private school of Teller and Singer from 1849 to 1850.

When he was seven his father moved to the district court of Halle where Carl Hugo spent the next fourteen years, the latter part as a teenager. First they lived in Mauergasse 6, a bare 100 metre from the eastern arm of the Saale, then they bought the three-storied patrician house of Sophien Strasse 5 which the parents occupied until their demise in 1893. Several excellent attic rooms in the roof served as a fourth floor. Halle

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<sup>59</sup> Felix Dhünen, *Naumburger Dom*, Bielefeld/Leipzig, Velhagen & Klasing, nd, pp. 2-10.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

was six times bigger than Naumburg, with botanical gardens and a zoo, bigger castles, miles and miles of tramways, extensive industries and a wonderful saltwater spa with several saltworks. The regional railway, postal and judicial headquarters were also in the city.

The art scenes and cultural climate of Naumburg and Halle were the ideal training ground for young Carl Hugo. Almost to the end of his life he visited historic and scientific places and looked up art galleries and botanical gardens the world over, including Rome, Pompeii, Greece, Egypt and the Kew Gardens.<sup>61</sup> We still know what he planted and grew in his King Williams Town gardens; he made botanical indexes of every flower bed and tree or hedge. He knew the species in the Cape Town Company Gardens and was very knowledgeable on the Pretoria Kirstenbosch, Grahamstown, King Williams Town, Bloemfontein and Durban Gardens. His eyes were always beholding the wonders of nature and the beauty of flora and fauna.<sup>62</sup>

For our purpose, the two main attractions of Halle were the University Colleges, with Professor Friedrich August Tholuck DD occupying the chair of Theology; and the Foundations of August Hermann Francke.

## The University of Halle

It was Philipp Jacob Spener, the father of Pietism, who started the University in 1694 under the patronage of the reigning Brandenburg Elector ('Kurfürst') Friedrich III, for Halle belonged to Prussia. It gave him deep joy and satisfaction at his advanced age to select and appoint devoted men, who would, by their Bible-centred faith, sound teaching and holy living check the rampant secularism and dead orthodoxy in most other universities. One of them was August Hermann Francke, his most famous and brilliant disciple, to take the chair of Theology.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Diary June-September 1897.

<sup>62</sup> \*This attachment to botanical gardens he shared with (the Baptist) William Carey, who invented the idea of the missionary society as a voluntary organization. Carey loved plants and played a major role in the creation of the first Botanical Garden in Kolkatta, where he is remembered by a statue.

<sup>63</sup> Hans Bruns, *Philipp Jakob Spener*, Giessen and Basel: Brunnen, 1955, p. 78.

During the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the last of Europe's great struggles over religion, when ten million of Germany's sixteen million people (65%) were killed,<sup>64</sup> the preaching of the Word in the Lutheran Churches was mainly concerned with arguments and disputations on some finer points of orthodoxy and dogmatics, with heretics, sectarians and Roman Catholics as prime targets.<sup>65</sup> Encouragement and comfort for the faithful were almost totally absent.

Spener was born into this situation on 13 January 1635 at Colmar (Upper Alsace)<sup>66</sup>. His family was middle to upper class with strong aristocratic connections. He studied at the Universities of Strassburg, Freiburg, Tübingen, Geneva and Basel. History, law, ancient languages, Arabic and the natural sciences were his main subjects; he got his MA degree before the age of eighteen and qualified twelve years later as Doctor of Theology for the Lutheran ministry. It is of special interest that this doctoral thesis was an exegesis and critical evaluation of the sixth trumpet and the four bound angels at the great river Euphrates (Rev 9:13-21), with special reference to the Muslims and the application to the Turkish threat around 1673/74,<sup>67</sup> which clearly shows that the Pietists had rediscovered Eschatology and the hope of the Second Coming of Christ, a doctrine which the new liberals questioned and even Luther and Calvin had somewhat neglected, for the Reformers had more urgent and pressing problems to contend with.<sup>68</sup> Understandably, Spener

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<sup>64</sup> Clyde L. Manschreck (ed), *A History of Christianity*, 2 vols, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1964, p. 264 \*This figure seems to me to be an overestimate. The more reliable estimate seems to be around 30% for all of Germany, with up to 50% for a broad stretch from Pommerania to the Black Forest ([web.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Thirty\\_Years'\\_War](http://web.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Thirty_Years'_War)), or about 20% of the total German population (Thirty Years' War Facts and Summary History.com). – Brandenburg would belong to the "up to 50% stretch."

<sup>65</sup> Kurt Aland (ed), *Philipp Jacob Spener's Pia Desideria*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1964, p. 64-65.

<sup>66</sup> \*At that time Alsace was German, now it is part of Eastern France, with Strassbourg as the capital.

<sup>67</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1970, p. 170.

<sup>68</sup> Barth Karl, *Die protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* <sup>3</sup>1960, Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1946, p. 113.

and his Pietists were greatly encouraged by these future messages of the book of Revelation, all the more so as the 'Turkish Hordes' occupied Hungary in 1663 but then, thank God, had been stopped at Vienna in 1664. Under those circumstances, some generous drops of Chiasm from the book of Revelation were most opportune and welcome.

Spener proposed in his dissertation that the four loosened angels from the Euphrates identified the Arabs-Saracens, Tatars, Turks and Persians. That one third of mankind had been killed during the Thirty Years' War and the recent Turkish conquests was a sad fact, as well as the Scriptural prophesy that the present surviving generation "does not repent of their murders, magic art, sexual immorality or their thefts" (Rev 9:21).<sup>69</sup> After some years in Strassbourg he was called as senior minister to the Central Church of Frankfurt/Main, only 31 years of age, although his colleagues were all over sixty.<sup>70</sup> In August 1670 several church members came to complain about the unspiritual and corrupt state of most citizens, notably the prominent ones. Wild parties, drunkenness and empty gossiping were harmful and not conducive to their inner spiritual life. They would rather stay at home in future or greatly desired to meet with other pious souls to talk about the things of God and build up their faith.<sup>71</sup>

Spener liked the idea and started the Collegia Pietatis or devotional private gatherings in his study, once or twice a week. They soon became serious Bible studies with exegesis of texts and personal applications. Laymen and laywomen (!) took an active part through questions, answers and helpful comments. Theology was no longer the prerogative of the clergy. An important by-product was the fellowship among the people

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<sup>69</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1970, p. 170-172). –The subject of Spener's dissertation is even more significant and relevant for this Baptist study when we remember that about two hundred years later Spurgeon, Oncken and Gutsche frequently used the Apocalypse in their preaching and teaching. Gutsche's first sermon in Keiskama Hoek was about the Angel with the loud trumpet.

<sup>70</sup> Bruns Hans, *Philipp Jakob Spener*, Giessen und Basel: Brunnen, 1955, p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> C.A. Wildenhahn, *Das Leben Philipp Jacob Spener's oder die Entstehung des Pietismus*, New York: Americanische Traktatgesellschaft, undated but before 1900, p. 75.

who opened up and discussed their problems, thereby receiving help which an official Sunday Service could not supply. Pastors and people found a forum to study God's Word, make it relevant to their lives and even pray together for specific items and situations. This was glorious and Spener's "Cottage Meetings" became known across the country. Soon Professors, Ministers from the Courts and even several Royals attended the discussions from Scripture. Open prayer sessions were spontaneous and often extemporaneous, a welcome change from the formal Lutheran liturgy. This was pulsating life! Other colleagues and churches across the country copied the idea and commenced their own meetings. Family devotions which had lapsed for decades were re-started in many homes. Many even called each other "Brother Jones" or "Sister Miller," as the case would be. Spener defended this 'strange' practice by stating "this is their proper right and anchored in the Gospel, where Jesus says 'Whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother' Mt 12:50." As could be expected, opposition from some academic quarters increased and some excesses became known, but Spener was undeterred.<sup>72</sup>

This "moving of the Spirit" and unexpected "revival atmosphere" was started by the laity around Spener and had far-reaching results. But the deepest impact was caused by his small book published in 1675, with the authority and approval of the Frankfurt Ministries of Magistrates which included the Lutheran Consistory of Religious Affairs (!):

"PIA DESIDERIA oder Hertzliches Verlangen Nach Gottgefälliger  
Besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirchen sampt einigen dahin  
einfaltiq abzweckenden Christlichen Vorschlagen."

For short it was called "Spener's Fromme Wünsche" and reprinted many times. An English version appeared two years later under the title: *"Pia Desideria or Pious Longings for a God-pleasing Reform of the True Evangelical Church, together with Several Simple Proposals Looking toward this End."* A Latin version saw print at the same time.

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<sup>72</sup> C.A. Wildenhahn, *Das Leben Philipp Jacob Spener's oder die Entstehung des Pietismus*, New York: Americanische Traktatgesellschaft, undated but before 1900, p. 76-94.

Tholuck of Halle suggested: "If it were foolish to call Luther the Reformer of Christian Doctrine and Spener the Reformer of the Life of the Christian Church in the same breath—Spener as the humblest among the humble would object to this label—yet he is without doubt outstanding among the important Lutheran Clergy and the cleanest, most sincere and blessed among the servants of Christ during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century."<sup>73</sup>

Spener starts his song of sorrow over the deplorable and sickly state of the Lutheran Church with the lament of Jeremiah 9:1.

"O, that my head were a spring of water and my eyes a fountain of tears! I would weep day and night for the slain of my people ... for they are all adulterers, a crowd of unfaithful people!"

and admits that deep depression and frustration have taken hold of him, for he sees the wholesale corruption but has no means to rectify those faults and heal the illnesses.<sup>74</sup> But he offers six remedies:

- 1.) More exposition and study of Holy Scripture in private homes to discover what God is really saying to his people.
- 2.) To re-establish the Priesthood of all Believers by engaging the laity to team up with the clergy in evangelising the parish and attend home prayer meetings.
- 3.) Intellectual knowledge of the Creeds and assent to the maxims of Jesus are meaningless without expressing them in daily holy living. The right doctrine must be translated into action.
- 4.) Doctrinal controversy cannot be settled by bitter polemics from the pulpit and angry tirades of denunciation, but in the spirit of love. With Scriptural arguments we must try to convince and win the opponents rather than condemn them.
- 5.) We need a different emphasis and syllabus in our Theological Colleges and Faculties, where future pastors must be trained in the importance of

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<sup>73</sup> Dr Herzog (ed), *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Gotha: Rudolf Besser, 1861, pp. xiv, 614.

<sup>74</sup> C.A. Wildenhahn, *Das Leben Philipp Jacob Spener's oder die Entstehung des Pietismus*, New York: Americanische Traktatgesellschaft, undated but before 1900, pp. 76-94.

holy living; committed and exemplary moral lives are essential in discharging their Divine call!

6.) We need a new type of forceful, anointed preaching with a verdict, aiming at surrender by personal faith in Jesus Christ. This demands more than a rational nod but an inward acceptance by the soul, heart and emotions of the hearers, which must inevitably change attitudes and appetites in the converts and produce much fruit and bring the desperately needed revival of people and Church.<sup>75</sup>

The echo was phenomenal and widespread. Soon several devout and God-fearing teachers and preachers occupied university chairs and pulpits. The rite of Confirmation with catechismal instructions beforehand was re-introduced by Spener, first in Frankfurt, then by and by practised in most Lutheran Churches countrywide. Later the Reformed Churches in Europe followed suite.

*August Hermann Francke* was one of Spener's first men for Halle University as Professor of Oriental Languages and Theology. He had been a pupil of Spener and teacher of Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf of the Moravian Brethren (Herrnhut) but was expelled from Leipzig and Erfurt by the Lutheran Orthodoxy to leave within twenty-four hours because of his Pietism. In Halle he was allowed to devote all his energies undisturbed; hence this city became the centre of Pietism. As teacher and philanthropist Francke exercised his greatest influence. In November 1695 he received an orphan into his house, but, before the month ran out, he had nine, and twelve before New Year. The number steadily increased and in July 1698 the Orphan Home was built and a school attached, the first establishment of its kind in the world. At his death thirty years later, over 2,000 orphans lived on the extended premises. Girls' schools had been added by then. One hundred years later, when Gutsche attended Francke's 'Latina Gymnasium,' they had eight different schools, Teachers' Training Colleges, Printing works, Publishing houses, Pharmacies and Medicine distribution centres, Sports Gymnasias, Wood- and Metal workshops, Art Classes, and so on. They were the best in Halle, a perfect preparation for life's challenges and the ideal springboard for

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<sup>75</sup> Dr Herzog (ed), *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Gotha: Rudolf Besser, 1861, pp. xiv, 614.



university studies. Francke's two aims were to educate children and young people in the practical and intellectual skills and equip them spiritually *for a God-pleasing life which should start with the personal acceptance of Jesus Christ as Saviour*.<sup>76</sup>

The second household word in Halle during Gutsche's youth was *Professor Friedrich August Tholuck DD (1799-1877)*, an eminent divine and public orator. During his studies at Berlin University he was thoroughly converted from pantheism and scepticism to evangelical Pietism, mainly through the influence of Schleiermacher and Zinzendorf. Contributing to this change was that, aged 19, as an extraordinary professor for Oriental Languages, he developed serious lung problems with violent spurts of blood which immobilised him for 1½ years but turned him into a sincere believer. In 1824 he came to Halle University, was incessant in his lectures, preached regularly as university chaplain and found time to write many books.

"Tholuck was one of the most fruitful and influential German theologians and authors during the second and third quarters of the 19th Century, and better known in England and America than any other. He was original, fresh, brilliant, suggestive, eloquent, and full of poetry, wit, and humour. He cannot be classified with any school. He was influenced by Pietism, Moravians, Schleiermacher, Neander, and even Hegel. His elastic mind was ever open to new light; but his heart was always right, and never shaken in faith and love to Christ. He had an extraordinary talent for languages and could speak English, French, Italian, Greek, Arabic and several other tongues, ancient and modern, almost like a native.

"He is one of the regenerators of German theology, leading it from the barren heaths of rationalism to the green pastures of the Scriptures and the literature of the Reformation.

"He was gifted with personal magnetism, and brilliant powers of conversation. Having no children he devoted all his paternal affections to his students, and was nobly assisted by his second wife (a most lovely and refined Christian lady). He was in the habit of

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<sup>76</sup> *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* 1909-1912. Bibliographische Institute Leipzig & Wien, pp. VI 821-22; Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopaedia*, London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894, vol. 11, pp. 832-833.

taking long walks with two or three students every day from eleven to twelve, and from four to five; he invited them freely to his house and table, tried experiments on their minds, proposed perplexing questions, set them disputing on high problems, inspired and stimulated them in the pursuit of knowledge, virtue, and piety ... Like John the Baptist, he sent all away to the higher Master. His chief aim was to lead them to a humble faith in the Saviour, and to infuse into them that love which was the ruling passion of his heart. He adopted, as he says, Zinzendorf's motto, "I have but one passion, and that is He, and He alone." Thousands of students from different lands owe him their spiritual life ... He was a lover of youth for Christ's sake."<sup>77</sup>

Tholuck was fond of the Baptists in Halle. For years he loved to employ Baptist maids in his household and recommended such domestics to his friends. When his Church Council suggested that they needed more pastors to effectively reach the people of Halle, Tholuck replied: "*You don't need more pastors. Commission the Baptists to evangelise our city and see for yourselves how successful these lay people will be!*"<sup>78</sup> The Baptist Professor Dr Barnas Sears,<sup>79</sup> on a Sabbatical with Tholuck, reported in 1834 to his Hamilton College in North America that

"the leader of the German Baptists, Mr Oncken, enjoys the full confidence of Tholuck, Hahn and Hengstenberg and many other important men from the evangelical camp; they work together in the distribution of Bibles and religious tracts."<sup>80</sup>

Tholuck attended the AGM of the "Continental Society" in London during the summer of 1825 in his capacity as a committee member.<sup>81</sup> There

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<sup>77</sup> Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopaedia*, London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894, p. IV 2351-52.

<sup>78</sup> Herbert Kautz, *Gemeinde Jesu - Gottes Werk - Unser Auftrag. Centenary Halle Baptist Church 1864-1964*, Halle: 1964, p. 10.

<sup>79</sup> \*On his way to Halle he met Oncken in Hamburg, and on his return Sears baptized Oncken, his [English] wife Sarah (Mann) and five others and constituted the first Baptist Church in Germany and the mother church for the Baptists in almost all countries of Continental Europe.

<sup>80</sup> Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 2 vols, Kassel: Oncken, <sup>3</sup>1923, p. 37.

<sup>81</sup> \*Oncken was a missionary of the Continental Society from 1823.

were about thirty missionary societies represented. He had many speaking appointments and was widely reported to have said

"that for the English mission activities were not a luxury but a commendable way of life. The Germans should wake up from their lethargy and join in the propagation of the Gospel to the world. It was a shame that Luther's land of the Reformation had become a missionfield itself for the 'Continental Society'; fortunately the Westminster Parliament had granted 100,000 British £ to evangelise Germany."<sup>82</sup>

All this was true, but the official German church did not like it. The "Darmstädter Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung" got hold of some of his speeches, translated them and published an article in their Sunday Supplement of 16 October 1825 under the heading

"Verlästerung Deutschlands im Ausland durch Deutsche - eine frömmelnde Heilandsliebe mindert die Menschenliebe."<sup>83</sup>

Karl Barth published 612 pages of his lectures on "The Protestant Theology of the 19th Century" and devotes a full chapter to Professor Tholuck, the

"Father of the Revival- or Renewal Theology": True religion must be in the head *and in the heart, being taught and felt*. Conversion or regeneration is essential as a conscious experience and must be felt with real personal excitement (Erfahrung) ... Faith is a matter of the heart and must be enjoyed; the inner life of a Christian is all important."

This empirical theology Tholuck lived out himself in piety and devotion:

"Schleiermacher speaking about emotion and heart-felt religion, paints a lovely flower, but Tholuck portrays a real perfumed flower with his life; Schleiermacher plays with matches, Tholuck strikes

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<sup>82</sup> Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, p. 65-66.

<sup>83</sup> "Malicious Statements about Germany by Germans abroad - sanctimonious Jesus-love impairs true love of humanity." Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, p. 67-68.

them alive and creates a *roaring fire*." Barth is quick to add: "Of course, this is not a value judgment."<sup>84</sup>

The Pietists of Halle in Gutsche's time, with all the aspects of mysticism, asceticism, quietism and separatism, were more than just a mere protest against the stiff and barren orthodoxy of the Lutheran Church. They started serious Bible studies in private homes and daily domestic family worship, they practised a general priesthood of *all* believers through the engagement and spiritual guidance by lay people and clergy alike. They shifted from a mere theoretical correctness of the Creeds to the emphasis on a practical Godly life. Mainly through the influence of August Hermann Francke und Tholuck, Halle became the seedbed and home of Pietism, spreading its influence through all spheres of life and classes in society, first all over Germany and then throughout the British and American world.<sup>85</sup>

Gutsche grew up in this conservative climate of 'Free Grace for all sinners' and imbibed those principles of Christian living which changed his life and prepared him ideally for his future ministry. He learned 'from the horse's mouth,' right on the spot, the essence of preaching, witnessing and living effectively for Christ. In addition, The Francke Institutions and Tholuck gave him the vision and taste for world missions. Throughout his long and fruitful ministry in South Africa he never changed from this pietistic and personal evangelical emphasis; meeting Oncken and his Baptists only strengthened his resolve for full time ministry abroad. It explains the things he later did or did not feel free to do with his churches in Kaffraria.

In fact, this was true of all four sections of the Baptist denomination: The English settler churches were sponsored by Spurgeon. Their ministers—with one or two exceptions—were trained in London at Spurgeon's College. The Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk was 'fathered' and structured by Gutsche on the Oncken constitution. Missionary work among Blacks was also undertaken along the lines of evangelical revival holiness teaching.

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<sup>84</sup> Karl Barth, *Die protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert*, <sup>3</sup>1960, Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1946, p. 462; my emphasis.

<sup>85</sup> Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopaedia*, London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894, p. 111.

All Baptists in Southern Africa during the first 100 years spoke with one voice and were united in faith and practice, minor local differences were considered to be merely cultural or cosmetic. And all engaged in social and educational projects, as we shall describe later.

In Halle he attended a public school and was soon admitted to the "Latina Gymnasium" of August Hermann Francke's Orphanages which by then had over 3.000 pupils in at least 8 schools. He graduated in the autumn of 1858 with this noteworthy School Leaving Certificate:

"Karl Hugo Gutsche, son of the Chief Auditor Gutsche in Halle, born at Delitzsch on 20 April 1843, started Easter 1853 in Grade Under Septa of the Latina Secondary School and progressed into the Upper Seventh Class, which he now leaves in order to become a dispensing chemist. He was a model of behaviour and has never forfeited or disappointed the trust his teachers put in him. His diligent efforts were constant; he devoted the same attention and concentration to all subjects in and out of classes. Therefore, he has gained a satisfactory to good knowledge all round. In Latin he can translate Cicero's speeches, Licinius and Virgil effortless and skillfully. In Greek he has the same proficiency, slightly better with Herodotus than with Homer. His German essays sometimes show a little harshness and rigidity and should have more ease and flow, but are generally speaking sufficient. In French he manages satisfactory translations. He is good in Geography, History and Mathematics; in Religion he has shown very commendable interest. We discharge this worthy pupil with our very best wishes for his journey through life." Halle 3. Sept 1858. Dr Fr. Aug. Eckstein, Headmaster of the Latina Gymnasium.<sup>86</sup>

Just before his 15<sup>th</sup> birthday, during the last semester at Francke's Latina, he was confirmed, as the custom would be, on the 28 March 1858 in the Lutheran Church of Glauchau, a southern suburb of Halle, and hence was allowed and expected to partake of Communion as a full member of the Lutheran Church. With his "very commendable interest in religion" and his years in a positive Christian atmosphere at the pietistic Orphanage Schools, we can be sure that for Carl Hugo confirmation was more than just a routine performance; it was his first public confession as a disciple of Christ. His believer's baptism would follow 6½ years later in the river Saale.

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<sup>86</sup> My translation; the original German certificate is kept in the Gutsche Files.

He apprenticed himself to the Hirsch Apotheke in Halle for three and a half years (1858-1862). No doubt, he was influenced concerning this choice by the Francke dispensaries and medical facilities. He qualified at 19 and received the following certificate:

"Carl Hugo Gutsche was born in Delitzsch and has worked for *three years and six months* from 1 October 1858 to ultimo March 1862 as an apprentice in my business. Before the Royal Circuit Examiners Mr Gutsche demonstrated that he has acquired excellent skills and is well qualified to join the pharmaceutical assistants and journeymen. It is my duty and pleasure to testify that he is able to execute prescriptions correctly and with confidence. He has always discharged his tasks efficiently and without delay. In the dispatch section he proved his ability to mix the required preparations in the right order and combination. He has always applied insight, expertise and circumspection. Mr Gutsche has endeared himself to me by his faultless behaviour and clean way of living. It was a joy to teach and live with him. I write this testimony with my best wishes for his future well-being and success." (Halle/Saale 21 March 1862 (signed) COLBERG Proprietor of the Hirsch Apotheke. Certified by L Kramer, Circuit Court Halle 31 March 1862.<sup>87</sup>

We observe then,

1. that Carl Hugo Gutsche spent the first impressionable years of his life in Naumburg and Halle, those special cities of arts, culture and natural beauty on the banks of the river Saale;
2. that he started his humanistic classical education in Latin, Greek, English and French, thereby receiving universal tuition of the highest academic order. (His younger brother Wilhelm Oscar Gutsche wrote his doctoral dissertation in Latin and became Professor of Philology in his 40<sup>th</sup> year);
3. that he belonged to the privileged Burgher Class of a higher civil servant's family with all the attending benefits.

Surrounded by the warmth of practical Pietism and influenced by the saintly example of Professor August Tholuck, Gutsche quite naturally yielded his life to God in repentance and faith which led to his baptism in the river Saale by pastor Moritz Geissler of the Halle Baptist Church on Christmas Day 25 December 1864, less than a mile's distance from his

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<sup>87</sup> My translation, original in Gutsche File.

home in Sophienstrasse No 5. By this deliberate action his life changed dramatically. The City's Chief Auditor's son had become a heretic by joining the Baptist Sect, still scoffed at and being persecuted.

## **His Conversion and the Halle Baptist Church**

The Baptist Church in Halle was formally constituted on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1864 where Pastor Moritz Geissler had lived since 1861, because Halle belonged to Prussia. In nearby Saxony His Majesty the King would not allow anyone to resign from the State Church and join the Baptists. Therefore, Moritz Geissler would be imprisoned in Leipzig if ever found preaching and baptising in Saxony. Henceforth most of the baptism in his circuit (Saxon and Prussian) was done in the Saale river at Halle. At first they met in private homes but since October 1864 conducted their regular public services in the (ball)room of the Hotel "Gasthof zu den drei Schwänen" (To the Three Swans). When Gutsche joined them, they had 35 members and were hunted, persecuted and sneered at, mainly by the clergy, police and magistrates. The story and fate of young Mr M., a student of theology at Halle University, may serve as an example for many:

"He became converted and requested baptism. Pastor Geissler reminded him of the problems this would create concerning his examinations and the reaction from his uncle, the local cathedral preacher. But M. insisted and preached his sermon before the church on Mt 5:13 *"You are the salt of the earth."* The members accepted his testimony and gladly agreed to his baptism in the river Saale. In no time pastor Geissler was reprimanded by the influential Cathedral leader for having baptised his nephew, who must be mad to enter the icy water in winter to be totally immersed! Only an inmate of the lunatic asylum would do that! The Baptist preacher assured His Eminence that the young man was of a perfectly sound mind and knew what he was doing, just obeying Scripture. Geissler further reminded the Domprediger of the Bible verse 'For in the same way you judge others, you will be judged' (Mt 7:2).

Several days later the student was invited to dine with his uncle, when suddenly two strong guards from the local madhouse appeared and took him to the asylum by force. All shouting and protesting did not help. When pastor Geissler went to the superintendent and claimed

that young M. was perfectly normal, he was shown the door with the words "It's none of your business, you are not qualified to express an opinion on who is sick or sound. We are the experts." The young Baptist was kept in hospital but an amazing thing happened: The Cathedral preacher had to be admitted as a totally deranged patient to the same institution and died there before his nephew who never saw his discharge."<sup>88</sup>

In the Saxon town of Oederan the clergy caused Mr & Mrs Fiedler<sup>89</sup> to be imprisoned with the option of a fine of six Thaler because they refused to have their child baptized in the Lutheran Church. They didn't have the money so their furniture was sold, for under six Thaler and brother Fiedler had to go to prison all the same. That same afternoon, the 14th July 1863, five police men and a midwife arrived at the house to fetch the baby for an enforced baptism in the Lutheran Church. After a fierce struggle the baby was wrestled from it's mother, dressed by the midwife and then carried to the church under police escort; more than a thousand citizens followed the procession. The pastor wanted to re-name the child but the magistrate prevented this. The midwife refused to charge the normal fee for her services. Two years later the very same 'episode' happened, with Fiedler landing in prison and their second child being taken by the police to church for the mandatory sprinkling. Only in 1869 this cruel procedure was discontinued by Royal decree and the persecution of the Baptists in Saxony gradually stopped.

Only on the sixth of Febr 1898 the Halle Baptist Church received the patent of a Public Corporation as a public body from the Prussian Government.<sup>90</sup>

Carl Hugo Gutsche was already worshipping in "The Three Swans" with pastor Geissler, when these persecutions took place. He identified fully with the Baptists and requested his own baptism on Christmas Day 25 December 1864 in the river Saale. The exact spot is still known and was pointed out to me in 1988 when I was the guest preacher in Halle Baptist

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<sup>88</sup> Herbert Kautz, *Gemeinde Jesu - Gottes Werk - Unser Auftrag. Centenary Halle Baptist Church 1864-1964*, Halle: 1964, p. 10-11.

<sup>89</sup> \*Not related to the current editor.

<sup>90</sup> Herbert Kautz, *Gemeinde Jesu - Gottes Werk - Unser Auftrag. Centenary Halle Baptist Church 1864-1964*, Halle: 1964, p. 10 and 24



Church. I took pictures of the Hirsch Apotheke, the Francke Orphanages and the gently sloping "Baptismal Corner" in one of the bends of the Saale. – He missed being a founding member by three months. Did he, perhaps, wait until he had attained the age of majority? For we know that his parents and relations weren't charmed, but rather embarrassed and deeply hurt when he left "the Faith." More than his confirmation, his believer's baptism became the irrevocable statement to everyone that he was determined to follow and serve Christ in a lifelong and total commitment. He would not go back to the official Lutheran Church, nor could he make pharmacy his life-long career. From the moment of his conversion under Geissler's ministry he started preaching, distributing tracts and witnessing to any - and everybody he met.

We also know from his diary that he pondered a long time over the question: "When and why should I officially resign from the Lutheran Church?"<sup>91</sup> On Monday 23 January 1865, one month after his baptism, he penned the following entry:

"Gründe zum Austritt aus der Landeskirche:

1. Offenbarung 18:4 gilt nicht von der Welt, sondern vom Antichristlichen Babel.
2. Nach der Bekehrung (gehören wir) zur kleinen und verachteten Gemeinde Jesu Christi.
3. In der Landeskirche (finde ich) keine Weide und Nahrung.
4. Weil man das Abendmahl nicht nach menschlicher sondern biblischer Weise geniessen soll (also nicht mit Unbekehrten) und dies nur mit der Gemeinde.
5. Um nicht der Sünden der Staatskirche teilhaftig zu werden, zum Beispiel Verfolgung der Kinder Gottes, Veränderung der Sakramente etc. - Lukas 14 - 1. Johannes 4:11 ff"

English Translation:

Reasons for resigning from the State Church:

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<sup>91</sup> *His diaries are a goldmine of information; someone could well research them and write a book on "The Diaries of Carl Hugo Gutsche."*

1. Revelation 18:4<sup>92</sup> demands separation from Antichristian Babylon and does not refer to "the World."
2. After conversion we become members of Christ's small and despised flock.
3. I receive no food and pasture in the State Church.
4. Only believers ought to be partakers of Holy Communion during the worship services of the church.
5. The stories in Lk 14 and 1 Jn 4:11ff demand that we separate ourselves from the State Church lest we share their sins of persecuting the children of God, changing the Sacraments etc.

Three weeks later, on 17 February 1865, Gutsche went from his lodgings at Johann Berg Strasse No 6 in Magdeburg to the Royal City and District Court, where his resignation from the Lutheran Church was officially granted upon the payment of 10 Deutsche Silbergroschen.<sup>93</sup>

It was the widely held view and conviction among Protestants, Pietists and Free Churches that the Harlot Babylon and the Antichrist of Revelation 18-19 could be identified with the Roman Catholic Church, though not exclusively; during the course of history even the Protestants (by persecuting the Anabaptists, hunting Oncken's modern Baptist movement, executing dissenters and driving the Pilgrim Fathers to the USA—to quote only four examples), and other Established State Churches had become contaminated with "spiritual adultery" and will have to share the guilt and condemnation. John Nelson Darby founded the "Plymouth Brethren" on this interpretation of Rev 18-19 and more so on 2 Tim 2:20-21 "Cleanse yourselves from the unholy ones." The Commentaries of Matthew Henry and John Peter Lange were widely used in Gutsche's time and give an overview of the theological thinking and interpretations of the German, English and American Divines. Charles Haddon Spurgeon and Oncken preached along similar lines. The Pietists were very strong on eschatology and around 1820 several charts of the dispensational schools on the last things and post- and pre-millennium

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<sup>92</sup> "Come out of her, my people, so that you will not share in her sins, so that you will not receive any of her plagues." (NIV)

<sup>93</sup> Original certificate in Gutsche File.

teachings were being published and circulated. Sermons and books on Daniel and Revelation were popular.<sup>94</sup>

It was the custom and requirement in those days for young skilled artisans, pharmacists and other professionals to travel around the country as "Geselle or Handwerksbursche" (itinerary tradesman or journeyman), for at least three years before they could be accepted into the 'masterguild' and establish their own business, if they passed the necessary examinations. After his completed apprenticeship with the Hirsch Apotheke he worked from April 1862 to April 1866 in Halle, Bergen on the Isle of Rügen, Wuppertal-Barmen, Ahrweiler, Mühlheim/Ruhr, Quedlin-burg and Hamburg-Altona. He spent several months in each place and used all his free time and off-duty days to take extensive hikes along the beautiful trails in the Harz mountains, Thuringian Forests and the Rhine and Moselle valleys, revelling in God's creation.

He could walk and walk and stop ever so often to talk to people about his saving faith in the blood of Jesus Christ. – Half way through this time of gaining more professional experience, from October 1864 to September 1865, he did his military service as a Pharmacist in the Prussian Army at Magdeburg and then was transferred to the provisional Military Hospital at Weissenfels, where he often assisted surgeons during operations. Both places were not far from home. The diaries record many incidents with times, names and results. He was extremely grateful to be allowed to do his compulsory military service in the medical corps. As a Baptist, he was not keen to do duty under arms and shoot people, but rather enjoyed the healing ministry in the military hospitals.

This was the strength of the Oncken movement: Among his converts were many young craftsmen. As soon as their apprenticeship was completed, they walked the width and length of Germany as journeymen and enquired in every new place where the "true Christians" lived, then

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<sup>94</sup> Johann Peter Lange, ed. Philip Schaff, *Commentary of the Holy Scriptures*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 10th ed, 1871, p. X 305-360; Matthew Henry, *Commentary of the Holy Bible*, Ward, Lock & Co. London, New York & Melbourne: 1811, p. VI 1409-1412; Gustav Ischebeck, *John Nelson Darby*, Witten: Bundes Verlag, 1929, pp. 32-42 & 60-61.

distributed Oncken's tracts by the hundreds and engaged in religious talks before the day had ended. When there were no Baptists or Pietists, these young men started their own prayer meetings and Bible studies. These home-cells were found all over Germany, from northern Denmark to southern Bavaria, in the Black Forest and beyond Salzburg into the Austrian regions. In this way the Baptists were spreading tremendously, and Oncken was hard pressed to get around and baptise all the converts from his itinerant preachers, at the same time starting new churches in those places!

## **Johann Gerhard Oncken and his Continental Baptist Churches**

Oncken was born on the 26 January 1800 in the small town of Varel near Oldenburg, close to the North Sea beaches with the string of the East Frisian Islands beyond. Napoleon Bonaparte was at the height of his power. Apart from the suffering and destruction he brought upon the European Continent, he left behind benefits and reforms. Fragmented, inefficient or even non-existent civil services were improved or introduced by his French occupation forces. All Jews received civil rights and permission to live anywhere to pursue any trade or craft, just like all other Germans. They had, however, to adopt proper family names of their own choice, and most of them became Cohen, Blumenthal, Kahlberg, Ackermann, Oppenheimer and the like. When Napoleon was defeated, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 formed 35 little 'states' and principalities plus 3 Hanseatic cities and called them "The German Bund," a first step toward the unified German Reich of Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm I in 1871.

Napoleon enforced the "Continental Blockade" against England to totally isolate her, with little or no effect. England made a mockery of this boycott, took the Island Heligoland from Denmark and used it as a base for a roaring black market and illicit trade. The biggest trading firms of England, Holland and Germany had their offices there. Diplomats and ambassadors held secret conferences but were also readily available to everyone. Heligoland was called the "Eldorado of International Commerce." This small island was able to serve 300 to 400 boats and ships a day, quite unprecedented in nautical history. An immense trade

with Hamburg, Bremen, Oldenburg, Wilhelmshaven and Varel was taking place. English businessmen were everywhere in those cities.<sup>95</sup>

Young Scottish merchant John Walker Anderson came to Varel in order to collect moneys due to him, met Oncken in the guesthouse "Im Weissen Ross," took a fancy to the young boy and vowed "I will make a real man of him!" He took Oncken with him in 1814, first to Hamburg and then to London, Leith and Edinburgh in 1819. He was introduced to the English Free Reformed, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches of London and

"got soundly converted in a service of the Methodists in Great Queen Street near St Paul's Cathedral during a sermon on Rom 8:1 'There is therefore no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus.' I left the chapel jubilant and went home rejoicing ... Blessed England, where so many people love the Lord Jesus and keep God's commandments!"<sup>96</sup>

He was 20 years old when he started his spiritual life in London as a committed Christian. A mighty missionary urge filled his soul. For instance: He had an allowance of 12 pence for lunch and often bought two rolls for a penny but used the remaining 11 to get religious tracts and Bible portions to hand them out to anyone around. While in Scotland he met the illustrious and eminent Divines James Alexander and Robert Haldane, who inspired him to even greater Christian zeal. Their commentaries on Romans, Revelation and 'The Inspiration of Scripture' were a great help to him. The Haldanes suggested that Oncken return to his native country and evangelize the Germans. They recommended him as an evangelist and Bible agent to the London Continental Tract Society, which body was founded to counteract the liberalism and rationalism in German theology. This call he gladly accepted. On 16 December 1823

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<sup>95</sup> Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*, Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984, p. 10; Dirksen, *Ein Jahrhundert Hamburg 1800 – 1900*, nd., np., np., p. 54.

<sup>96</sup> Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*, Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984, p. 14-16.

Oncken began his life work in Hamburg, the city that became his base for the next sixty years.<sup>97</sup>

Apart from the political and economic renewal, Napoleon left a third legacy behind: The religious awakening. For every French officer and administrator who departed after 1815, many more British and American merchants, tourists and academics entered Germany. Many of them brought the "new English faith" with them. The Free English Reformed Church (Independent) received her 'concession' from the Hamburg Senate without problems, for she only catered for English speaking members and was no competition or threat to the Lutheran Establishment. Oncken became a member of this English church and felt completely at home with their Calvinistic dogma of Sovereign Grace by Election, mellowed by the independent and revival atmosphere of the Haldane brothers who openly advocated believers' baptism and congregational church government as the ideal. This Reformed training for more than five years, and his experience with the English Free Churches shaped Oncken's life-long theological outlook and practice in his German churches.

The state of the Protestant Churches in Germany after the turn of the century (1800-1850) was deplorable. In a village with 1900 inhabitants only two men attended the morning service. Vicar Karl Büschel reports that only four men but no women and children came the next Sunday; sometimes nobody turned up and he had to cancel the service after praying alone for a while. After Sunday lunch they then proceeded to do the washing at the rectory. In the cities many children were born, quite a few of them out of wedlock, but nobody brought them to church for baptism, because it was impossible for the police and church officials to keep proper checks and records.<sup>98</sup>

At the German universities rationalism and humanism were rife. David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874) published his book "Das Leben Jesu kritisch

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<sup>97</sup> Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*, Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984, p. 23; Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopaedia*, London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894.

<sup>98</sup> Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 2 vols, Kassel: Oncken, 1923, p. II:7.

bearbeitet" in 1835 and tried to demolish all miracles from the Scriptures: "The four Gospels are a book of legends and poetic fables." In his next book "Christliche Glaubenslehre" (1840) he pushed Christianity aside and preached absolute pantheism.<sup>99</sup>

Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach in his book "Das Wesen des Christentums" (1841) enlarged on Strauss and said that

"The idea of God is the figment of human imagination and a deceptive hope." He states that the world would have been a happier place if we had never heard about this 'god'; "God is a mere projection into empty space of the human *ego*, as an *image of man*, and religion as a simple psychological process, as an illusion."<sup>100</sup>

Professor Christian Ferdinand Baur (1792-1860) established the "Tübingen School" in consequence of Hegel's Pantheism. Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) tried to remove the metaphysical elements from religion altogether and so became the leader of the 'Free Protestants'.<sup>101</sup> Finally, Artur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) went all the way when he preached hopeless despair and declared "Pessimism as the only legitimize moral principle."<sup>102</sup>

Against this flood of disbelief, faithful men like Spener, Francke, Tholuck and Hengstenberg in Germany, C.H. Spurgeon in London and D.L. Moody in Chicago and the whole movement of Pietism rose up as "The Salt of the Earth" and a healing antidote to neutralize the poison of modernism.

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<sup>99</sup> "The Life of Jesus" was brilliantly translated by George Eliot (Mrs Cross) and published in London 1846, 3 volumes; Tholuck wrote a comprehensive article on Strauss' life and work in Dr Herzog (ed), *Real-Encyklopädie for protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Gotha: Rudolf Besser, 1861, p. XV 169-178.

<sup>100</sup> Again, this book was translated by George Eliot and published in London 1853 and 1881 as "Essence of Christianity" Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopaedia*, London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894, p. 808 ff.

<sup>101</sup> *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* 1909-1912. Bibliographische Institute Leipzig & Wien, p. XVII:14.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* XVIII:7-9.

Johann Gerhard Oncken and his pupil Carl Hugo Gutsche of Halle were in the midst of these pietistic revivals.<sup>103</sup>

Oncken started work immediately after his arrival in Hamburg by preaching in English and German in the big harbour districts. To his first meeting on 27 December 1823 ten persons came; a week later (4 January 1824) he counted eighteen and he reports to his London Society at the end of January:

"Hundred and twenty persons were present. Some had to listen from the outside through open windows but perfect order and peace prevailed. Several seekers stayed behind ... On 22 February there were so many people that I had trouble entering the room. About a hundred friends had to turn back, yet those present paid the greatest attention. One week later 280 persons came to my service and many wept bitterly."<sup>104</sup>

It shows that Oncken's message about repentance and faith in Jesus Christ as the only means of salvation, without which man will be lost for eternity, found willing ears and open hearts in Hamburg. When Oncken's sermons became the talk of the town and the Senate and police hunted and imprisoned him, he often escaped across the Elbe into Prussian territory or went further afield as far as Bremen. Oncken writes on 21 November 1826

"Yesterday I preached in Bremen to more than 400 people, 8 or 10 school teachers were also present. On 5 December I had more than 600 in attendance, they all listened with great interest."<sup>105</sup>

Oncken had known for some time that he should receive believer's baptism, but there was no one he could turn to. When his first daughter

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<sup>103</sup> \*Here the author sees three revivals, different in history though related, as one, under the name of "Pietism". Spener and Francke belonged to historic Pietism, Tholuck and Hengstenberg to the Great Awakening, C.H. Spurgeon and D.L. Moody belonged to the Holiness Revival. In Germany these groups are often collectively called "Pietists."

<sup>104</sup> Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*, Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984, pp. 25-26.

<sup>105</sup> Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 2 vols, Kassel: Oncken, <sup>3</sup>1923, vol 1, p. 29.



was born on 20 April 1829 he refused to take her to the Lutheran Church 'to be done'. It highlighted his own peculiar dilemma. His pastor Matthews from the Scottish Free Church thought it was not necessary to be baptised "a second time." Others invited him to London for the ceremony. He then wrote for advice to his friend Robert Haldane, because Robert's baptism in 1808 at a Baptist Church was common knowledge. Haldane gave this strange reply "Go and baptise yourself and then your like-minded converts." This he would not do because he found no precedent in Scripture. – The door opened when Professor Barnas Sears from the United States visited Halle University in 1833/34 during his Sabbatical Year in order to listen to Tholuck and study some more theology.

Sears was surprised to hear of a Baptist Church in Hamburg with unbaptised believers. He visited Oncken during April 1833, examined him as to his faith and correct doctrine and baptised Oncken and his friends on 22 April 1834, in the River Elbe near the small Steinwerder Island. Oncken's diary gives the details:

"Bless the Lord o my soul and all that is within me, bless His holy name! After longing for many years to be baptised in the manner of my Lord Jesus Christ and to obey His command I had the privilege to be baptised last night between 8 and 9 o'clock by brother Barnas Sears, professor of Hamilton College, North America. The following dear brothers and sisters went with me into the water: My faithful wife Sarah Oncken, Henriette Lange and her husband Diedrich Lange (Cobbler), Heinrich Krüger (Cobbler), Ernst Buckendahl (Mirror-Frame-Maker) and Johannes Gussdorff (Linen merchant and Jewish proselyte). The weather was very lovely and our gracious Lord supplied everything to make this festive occasion perfect. With a happy heart I went down into the water and with praising lips I went up onto dry land."<sup>106</sup>

The following day, Sunday 23 April 1832, in Oncken's house "An der Englischen Plancke" the First German Baptist Church was constituted in Hamburg by Professor Barnas Sears with Oncken as Elder of his newly baptised members. The membership soon grew from the initial seven

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<sup>106</sup> Günter Balders, *Theurer Bruder Oncken*, Kassel and Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984, p. 38-49.

because Oncken baptised his new converts regularly in the river Elbe—under much persecution and trials.

When he died in 1884, there were 165 churches with 32 000 members in Germany alone. Today Europe has over One Million Baptists.<sup>107</sup> With the exception of the British Isles, most Continental Baptists find their roots and branches directly or indirectly in Oncken's family tree and mission initiative.

## **Pharmacist and Baptist Preacher and Oncken's Assistant**

From the moment of his conversion and baptism at the end of 1864, Gutsche was preaching several times a week, apart from his taxing professional job - a layman with no official theological training but taking the Bible's injunction and Oncken's motto ("Every Baptist a Missionary") to heart. This may seem strange and unusual for a professional man of 21, with an excellent academic record, to act like a "possessed fanatic," who is driven by an inner force and compulsion. However, he was just a 'normal believer' like all other Oncken members. There were no 'dry' Baptists, one *had* to submit to believer's baptism. They had no honorary or passive members, all were to be committed *active* workers. Those unable to preach would be expected to pray, witness to neighbours or hand out tracts and Bible portions. There was no chance for a Baptist not to be found out soon! Those who lapsed or stayed away from the worship services, were counselled, encouraged or reprimanded and finally barred from communion. Eventually the unrepenting and inactive lost their membership. Even then huge efforts were made to win them back<sup>108</sup> Carl Hugo Gutsche, from the moment of his conversion, was so possessed and driven by the Holy Spirit to witness and preach salvation by faith in Christ's death on the Cross that it remained his life-long ambition.

The extent of his 'parish' is amazing and the volume of his work staggering. On 30 June 1865 he lists in his diary 13 missionary meetings, 98 sermons and 23 talks for the six months just gone. This was done in addition to his full-time job. On 16 October 1865 he arrived in Hamburg

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<sup>107</sup> 'Die Gemeinde' (Oncken Kassel) 13 September 1998, p. 4-5.

<sup>108</sup> Glaubensbekenntnis 1866 Hamburg, p. 27, 34.

to work in Altona, but immediately started his part-time pastoral activities under Oncken's personal tutorship, who soon realized the potential of this young man. This is how a typical Sunday looked for Gutsche, taken at random (24 Dec 1865, Christmas Eve):

"Got up at 3:30 to prepare my messages for today. Went to the harbour boat at 5:30 but the mist was too heavy for the vessel to move. I had to walk for 2<sup>1/2</sup> hrs to Wilhelmsburg via Grasbrook and preached at 09:30 on "Burning Hearts" and again at 16:00 about Paul's boasting of Christ's strength in his weakness, after which I officiated at the Lord's Supper for the first time in my life, breaking the Bread and pouring the Wine. I left at 18:00 and got home at 21:00. To my surprise I found a Christmas present on the table, a briefcase, which pleased me very much."

He worked so hard that his fiancée and later wife Mary Lange was very concerned: "studied nearly the whole night, slept from 0:30 to 02:30, too much work and little sleep; Mary worried."<sup>109</sup> He does not only preach on Sundays. Almost every night he is out for missionary and prayer meetings or Bible studies. He starts reading theological books, keeps up his Latin and Greek of which numerous quotations in his diaries bear ample testimony, gives French lessons and teaches German to an English visitor, in addition to his pharmacy duties—almost like a superhuman workhorse. He reads church history, Richard Baxter's 'Reformed Pastor' and Julius Köbner's "The Waldensians." When he works through Spurgeon's sermons, he falls asleep<sup>110</sup> On Monday 17 April 1865 he travels to Halle to "speak to Papa about my future and religious experiences, after which we all had supper together and went to bed very late." In the meantime Oncken and his First Baptist Church Böhmenstrasse called him to become their Assistant Pastor. He accepted gladly and left the full time pharmacy employment in April 1866 to work in Hamburg with Oncken until his departure for South Africa. At the end of his 1866 diary he gives a summary of all his preaching engagements during the year, complete with dates and sermon texts or titles.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Diary 9 & 30.3.1867.

<sup>110</sup> Diary 24.2.1865.

<sup>111</sup> Of these places Hamburg, Harburg, Wandsbeck and Steinwerder had larger meeting rooms or chapels.

Hamburg 69x  
Harburg 19x  
Wandsbeck 15x  
Steinwerder 13x  
Achterdeich & Stelle 9x  
St Georg 5x  
Stade 3x  
Wilhelmsburg 3x

Börkel 2x  
Scharmbeck 1x  
Kornweide 1x  
Winsen 1x  
Moisburg 1x  
Rumelsloh 1x  
Tempt 4x [meaning not clear]

He is using the printed Baptist prayer list for daily intercession and evening meetings, stating that

*"Many thousands who have experienced the blessing of united prayer agreed to pray daily for the following items:*

Sunday: Christian education of young people and children in Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies

Monday: Foreign Missions and Mission among the Jews

Tuesday: The Bible Societies

Wednesday: The abolition of slavery; Temperance Movements and their fight against alcohol

Thursday: The British and our own Tract Societies, our ecclesiastical welfare institutions and hospitals

Friday :The pouring out of the Holy Spirit upon all peoples

Saturday: we pray for all preachers of the Gospel"<sup>112</sup>

As it turned out, unbeknown to them, the years 1864 to 1867 became the perfect training ground and dress rehearsal for Gutsche's pioneering work and life task in South Africa. They discussed his future frequently and South Africa is first mentioned in his diary early in 1866. Oncken insists that if he wants to go abroad as a missionary he must find a second person to go with him, because Jesus sent his disciples two by two. They start praying "For the Holy Spirit's leading to find a missionary who would come with me to the Cape."<sup>113</sup> He consults the Baedeker guide and applies to the Rhenish Missionary Society in Wuppertal as a candidate.<sup>114</sup> He buys physician's instruments and a microscope<sup>115</sup> and

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<sup>112</sup> From the German original in Gutsche File

<sup>113</sup> Diary 17.4.1866.

<sup>114</sup> Diary 27.2.1866.

makes a detailed list on the inside-backcover of the 1865 diary, of remedies, powders and pills to be taken to the Cape:

Medicine für Schiffskisten: Eye water / Stomach powder / Laxative powder / Quinidine powder / Mercuriate pills / Mercuriate powder / Anti-Diarrhoea powder / Sorbet drops / Scabies powder / Gonorrhoea Thm / Sorbet Thm / Bug oil / Bug powder (*sic*).

All are given in the exact formula and ingredients with Latin-Greek names which only a chemist or doctor can interpret.

When he came to Hamburg he was already a popular preacher, a healthy and vigorous young bachelor of 23, very eligible and much desired. He had his longings and temptations but knew how to control and discipline himself concerning the many lovely girls and daughters of greater Hamburg and all over Germany, for that matter. If he would yield and play around with the opposite sex his life's ministry would be destroyed or blighted. Of course, he could always go back to his pharmacy job but that would not satisfy him. He was called to preach, win souls and work in Africa among the heathen. On Saturday the 6 January, 1866 he had an early morning shift, then read some theological books until lunch time, indulged in a short nap and afterward visited the Anatomical Museum in Hamburg. His diary states

"I prayed earnestly for God to help me not to get tortured by carnal lusts, unclean thoughts and sexual arousals when I look at the uterus, female breasts and other private human organs."

His prayer was answered accordingly for he could "thank God for blessing me with a healthy body, making us wonderfully well and perfect in every way." At the Berlin Old and New Egyptian Museum he saw the

"Egyptian mumiens, Gods and coffins, also look at attentive the furniturs of the Oaf ferns and Hottentottes. My soul had been moved peculiarly longe times and give prayers to God, that I am make should me strong and able, there to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ."<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> 6.4.1866.

<sup>116</sup> Gutsche Diary Wedn 11.4.1866. – From 1<sup>st</sup> March 1866, he wrote his diary in the English language for exercise and training, for he knew by now that he would go to a foreign land, most probably to Africa.

A remarkable thing happened on Thursday, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1866: On the day before (Wednesday 28 Febr) Gutsche had written:

"Wenn die Posaune erschallt u. die Todten auferstehen, o dass unsere Namen dann doch in seinem Herzen erfunden würden, wenn der letzte Seufzer hier auf Erden das erste Victoria im Himmel ist."  
(When the trumpet sounds and the dead rise - may our names be in His heart; then the last sigh on earth can become the first victory shout in heaven)

but then he continues with his Bible readings for that day *in English*.

"Thursday Cobs 2 and 1 Cor 7. In the morning I worked and relieved Mr Brockmann. Afternoon I left serving to Charles Rulfer. I noted down projects of sermons ... It is not needful to break all laws of the penal code, it's sufficient to transgress *one* for punishment ..."

He studies English and Dutch intensively, with translations both ways, keeps up his Latin and Greek and gives German and French lessons. One can notice improvements by the week. Not surprising at all because in the Oncken household English was the home language, for both, Sarah Oncken and Martha Lange, his future mother in law, were from England. Gutsche was a boarder in the Oncken house where the widowed Mrs Lange and her five children lived as well, with Mary Lange being the youngest. J.G. Oncken was their guardian looking after them because the late Johann Carl Friedrich Lange had been his closest friend and co-pastor. Only after his arrival in King Williams Town (10.12.1867), Gutsche reverted to German in his diaries, church minutes, sermons and most correspondence.

Six weeks later he faced a spiritual and emotional battle within himself, stirred up by a certain brother Ostermann, who went home with Gutsche after the service and criticised his preaching, on behalf of himself and other members, that his messages fell far short of those by Mr Oncken and brother Meyer. Most disturbing was the charge that Gutsche preached himself and not Christ.

The ramifications of this "went powerfully to my heart." The whole Monday he was reading and praying with a heavy heart, cried for grace, slept very little and "felt bad in the eyes of my great God." He finally went to Mr Oncken and Elder Braun asking them to dispense him from

preaching because he felt unworthy. But they said the he must carry on, and that Mr Ostermann will have to give an account of what he had said.<sup>117</sup>

As he was part of the Lange and Oncken household and lived under the same roof, it was only natural that complications arose. During the second half of 1866 the names F. Lange and L.M. appear several times, but on the 13.12.1866 we read "Fetched Mary." On 27.12.1866 he "meditated much on my future." On New Year's Day 1867 he preached at St Georg on Ebenezer and took Mary with him. Ten days later he penned this happy sentence "I had supper the first time with my M [sic]." When Gutsche asked Oncken on 4 February 1867 to become engaged to Mary he withheld his answer. Four days later, undeterred, he went to Mrs Lange who enthusiastically said Yes. "At the deacons' meeting my engagement was announced and the Stade congregation congratulated us on our engagement."<sup>118</sup> Oncken asked Gutsche to find other lodgings, for two people in love may not live under the same roof; it's tempting, inappropriate and easily creates wrong impressions, according to Victorian ethics and Biblical teachings as they understood it in those days. When Gutsche promised Oncken on 18 August 1867 to go to South Africa, he agreed to the marriage and the couple got excited and ready for emigration.

Mary Lange was born in Hamburg Altona on 24 June 1841 and two years older than Hugo Gutsche. After her quality schooling in Altona she spent some years as governess and private tutor to several select families like Baron von Münchhausen at Bodenwerder (Weser)<sup>119</sup> and Count von der

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<sup>117</sup> Diary 22.-24.4. 1866.

<sup>118</sup> Diary 16.2.1867.

<sup>119</sup> \*These were descendants of Karl Friedrich Hieronimus Freiherr von Münchhausen (1720-1797), famous for his habit of telling the most outrageous stories as true. He rode on one canon ball out of a beleaguered city and back into it on another, and he could also pull himself out of a bog by his own hair. Against his will the stories were published anonymously, enlarged and embellished. Now available as: R.E. Raspe, *The Adventures of Baron Munchhausen*, illustrated by Ronald Searle, New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.

Recke-Vollmerstein (Westphalia).<sup>120</sup> She was very gifted in music, played the piano well and gave music lessons practically all her life, to supplement the meagre income of her clergy husband.<sup>121</sup> She was the fifth of six children of Johann Carl Friedrich Lange and Martha Speight. Her father was born on 19 March 1799 and one year senior to Oncken, his friend. As a young man during 'Napoleon's Continental Blockade' he came to the Isle of Heligoland in the service of an English doctor, who took him to Hamburg around 1816, which was under French occupation at that time. Although he had an easy life, writes Oncken, Lange gave up his lucrative position at the age of 24 on account of his religious convictions and, for the sake of independence, learned the shoemaker trade. More importantly, when he qualified in April 1828, he automatically became a member of the Hanseatic League with all the privileges of a burgher. Just like St Paul who, as a Roman Citizen, could not just be pushed around without a proper trial and defence appeal, if need be, before the Emperor Caesar himself. As early as 1822 he started preaching in German and English to the sailors in the harbour as a Bible colporteur and City Mission preacher for the Scottish National Bible Society.

Lange was one of the first converts of J.G. Oncken who baptized him in May 1834 and made him assistant pastor at Böhmkensstrasse. During the Great Fire of Hamburg in 1842 Lange cared for more than 80 homeless victims in the Church Hall and in private Baptist homes. Weakened by the harassment of the Lutheran Church and the persecution by the Senate Lange died on 20 November 1849, at the early age of 50, leaving his widow and the remaining four children destitute; Mary, the youngest, was barely

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<sup>120</sup> \*In this family the most famous member was Adelbert Graf [Count] von der Recke-Völmerstein (1791-1878), who founded, in the context of the Great Awakening, the Graf Recke Stiftung [Foundation], starting in 1816 with the care for vulnerable children ([www.graf-recke-stiftung.de/ueber-uns/geschichte/](http://www.graf-recke-stiftung.de/ueber-uns/geschichte/)).

<sup>121</sup> Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939, p. 54.



seven; her younger sister Martha had died in 1845.<sup>122</sup> Oncken took the whole family into his home and became their guardian and helper.

The two sons, Charles Frederic and Edward Lange emigrated to the United States, married there and eventually had big families with 10 and 9 children. Their sister Rosa married the German Baptist pastor Andreas Gülzau. When her 'baby' Mary left Hamburg with Hugo Gutsche in 1867, the widowed mother Martha Lange was alone, with three of her children overseas and the fourth one (Rosa) in Memel in East Prussia.<sup>123</sup>

Oncken writes in his obituary of Lange's great firmness of character, and how he suffered imprisonment and confiscation of his goods because of his faith, public preaching and baptizing converts in rivers and lakes. Several times they were companions in the same jail, the so-called "Winserbaum-Gefängnis." Oncken, Köbner and C. Lange were imprisoned in May 1840, Oncken for four weeks and Köbner and Lange for one week each. Oncken's diary reads:

"They took the manuscript of my last sermon and just about stripped me to look for any heretical literature and other discriminating material. They put me in the second story of the southern wing, the window was strongly barred and the door bolted. I got down on my knees and thanked God for being allowed to suffer for His name's sake. I prayed for my church and her members and for the conversion of my jailors, guards and officials who put me behind bars ... I read Haldane's Commentary on Romans, spoke about the Gospel of Christ to my goal keepers, and my wife came for a visit. I sang, read and wrote. At seven in the morning brother Pielström stood outside and waved up to me, another brother pointed to heaven which greatly encouraged me. I read English literature. Lange was brought in but is one story above me. Whenever he starts singing, I join in and we both feel like Paul and Silas in prison at Philippi."<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> This information is from Oncken's English Obituary Tract No 109 "J.C.F. Lange of Hamburg," published by the Baptist Tract Society in 1850; original in Gutsche File.

<sup>123</sup> Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939, p. 39-43.

<sup>124</sup> Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 2 vols, Kassel: Oncken, <sup>3</sup>1923, vol 1, pp. 66-70.

A week later Julius Köbner is locked up as well. He manages to get a small bread roll delivered into Oncken's cell which contained a tiny slip of paper (the prisoners had to be fed by their families). Oncken is overjoyed and starts reading this secret miniature letter when a guard comes in and confiscates the note, which is soon put ad acta by police chief Binder and hence, can still be viewed in the archives of the city of Hamburg!

"Theurer Bruder Oncken! Blessed be the name of the Lord, up to now there is no bad news; your whole church is steadfast and unitedly behind you, not fearful or backsliding but rather encouraged as we pray for you in prison. You have the evidence of our love by the many visits and our waving to you ... We are looking forward to the festive day of your release. The Lord is faithful. Amen. Many many greetings."<sup>125</sup>

From this noble tradition Mary Lange-Gutsche hailed and of such stern material she was made.

## **Departure for the South African Mission Field**

As early as 1849 discussions took place among Oncken's Baptists

"that African and Chinese Heathen should be evangelised; Turkish Moslems and the many lost Germans in America, Canada and Queensland-Australia needed Christ as well. However the task at our doorsteps is so immense and urgent that we have to concentrate on Europe first," Oncken said, "but as soon as we get stronger we will not only send money but our men and women to foreign fields." Joseph Lehmann added "As long as I have two pennies I shall give one to foreign missions. In Prussia *we have resolved to give one-third of our income to the heathen*. We have a big heart for the whole world and look forward to the day when we start our own missionary society."<sup>126</sup>

During the Annual Conference in Hamburg from 12 to 21 August 1867 Oncken made the historic announcement that

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<sup>125</sup> Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, pp. 174-177.

<sup>126</sup> German Baptist Assembly Hamburg 1849, p. 30. My emphasis.

"In the Cape Province of South Africa are several hundred believers patiently waiting for more than five years for a suitable Baptist minister to lead them into further growth and maturity. They have already sent the passage money and pledged the necessary support. I am now happy to announce that our dear brother Gutsche of Halle-Saale is willing to go to South Africa. He has spent several months with me here in Hamburg to prepare himself for this tremendous task for which he is well qualified. Now we can answer the Macedonian Call from afar: 'Come over and help us.'"<sup>127</sup>

Thus Carl Hugo Gutsche and Mary Lange became the first *German* Baptist missionary couple on the African Continent South of the Equator, more than a hundred years after the Lutherans and Zinzendorf's men had arrived in South Africa. The Gutschehs had one advantage, however: About three hundred German Baptist Settler families would welcome them as pastoral leaders. From this solid home base they could launch concerted missionary efforts among all races and cultures. Lustre was added to the Conference by the presence of the famous Rev and Mrs C.H. Spurgeon from the London Metropolitan Tabernacle.<sup>128</sup> He officially dedicated the new Böhmenstrasse Baptist buildings and preached twice during those days. His publisher Mr J. Passmore of London and about thirty additional visitors from Scotland, England, North America and Canada were also present:

"The highly gifted brother Spurgeon gave the whole conference a special thrill. Many had just come to hear this famous preacher and see with their own eyes the man who had been such a blessing the world over. Most of his sermons and books had been translated and published by Oncken of Hamburg. They were not disappointed. His very appearance and stature was a sight to behold and put a holy

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<sup>127</sup> Konferenz Minutes Hamburg 1867:73

<sup>128</sup> \*For their lives see: Susannah Spurgeon and Joseph Harald (eds), *C.H. Spurgeon Autobiography, compiled from his Diary, Letters and Records by his wife and his private Secretary*, London 1897-1910, 4 vols: a revised edition, 2 vls, London, 1962 and 1973. That a German edition appeared in 1984 shows the enduring appeal for German Baptists published by Oncken, Kassel and Wuppertal.

hush upon the very large congregation. The big Böhmenstrasse sanctuary was far too small."<sup>129</sup>

Gutsche was in charge of these minutes, with five helpers under him. He received high praise for his stirring work of juridic veracity and masterly sense of syntax and clear language. The printed edition consisted of 14 pages which were distributed throughout Europe. It reads like an action-packed novel from the Acts of the Apostles.

His ordination by Oncken himself took place after their wedding. He issued this document:

"This is to certify that The Rev. Hugo Gutsche was on the 29th September 1867 ordained by the undersigned as a Minister of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to labour in Africa. Hamburg, Sept. 30th 1867. J.G. Oncken, Pastor of the Baptist Church."<sup>130</sup>

The five weeks after the Assembly in August brought a whirlwind of activities. They received 100 Mark from the church as a wedding present and spent the 17 and 18 September on the boat from Hamburg to Heligoland to be married on that British Island as they had already cut their ties with the Prussian Authorities on account of their emigration to South Africa:

"The Missionary *Mr Karl Hugo Gutsche*, born in wedlock to Chief Auditor Mr Johann Wilhelm Gutsche and his wife Marie of Halle *and Mary Lange*, daughter of the late book seller Mr Johann Karl Friedrich Lange of Hamburg and his wife Martha neè Speight from North-owram England were married *here* by me on the 18th September of the year 1867. I herewith certify this by my official seal.

Heligoland 22nd September 1867. (signed) Dr Hack, Pastor and Superintendent, Evang. Lutheran Church Heligoland."<sup>131</sup>

The honeymoon couple continued by train to Halle where Carl Hugo introduced his new wife to the parents and bid farewell. Mary saw the Francke Institutions, the Hirsch Apotheke and her husband's other

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<sup>129</sup> Konferenz Minutes Hamburg August 1867: 1-3, 33, 50.

<sup>130</sup> In English, original in Gutsche File.

<sup>131</sup> Original in Gutsche File.

favourite spots in the district. On Sunday he preached in his home church, with pastor Geissler in attendance. They returned to Hamburg after a week where they were given a wedding reception on Sunday. Gutsche preached his farewell sermon in the big new church. After the speeches and a moving prayer meeting they sang several hymns for them. Frantic last minute packing and buying (for instance a bed for South Africa), securing some foreign exchange for pocket money on the journey, saying "Auf Wiedersehn" to the many friends and other tasks left them little time for sleep.<sup>132</sup>

When they set sail from Hamburg on 2 October 1867 in the steamer Celt they were totally exhausted. It was very stormy and both were sea-sick on and off, for about two weeks, until the calm blue sea helped them to recover. Between Biscay and St Helena a horse bit Carl Hugo rather badly, but he knew what to do. He played a lot of chess and writes in his diary on 2 November: "First disagreement with M." which comes as no surprise, with all the sea-sickness, loss of appetite and frayed stomach nerves. On Saturday 23 November they dropped anchor in Algoa Bay, Port Elizabeth and went ashore, after a voyage of 52 days. Nobody was there to welcome the young couple, but after some days of suspense they established that the German Baptists were living in the King Williams Town area. They located only part of their luggage and received a telegramme from brother Dorian of Aliwal North advising them "to proceed to Grahamstown where they would be picked up by cart and horse one of these days."<sup>133</sup> On Thursday 28 November they left early at 5:00 by mail coach and negotiated the 130 km through mud-paths and mountain passes, across swollen rivers into backwoods with briars and wild beasts and stopped at the carcass of an ox where two huge eagles were feasting. Behind the vultures many most colourful cacti were growing profusely—what an experience!<sup>134</sup>

Mary Gutsche thanked God to the end of her life for the loving care and shelter she received from Rev and Mrs Alexander Hay in front of the fireplace at their Grahamstown Manse where she slowly recovered from the first shock of the real Africa: The contrast from the wintry Germany to

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<sup>132</sup> Gutsche diary August-September 1867.

<sup>133</sup> Original in Gutsche File.

<sup>134</sup> Diary 28/29 Nov 1867.

the steaming hot bush had hit her so violently and unexpectedly that it made her real sick for several days, culminating in dysentery and diarrhoea.<sup>135</sup> She was the first patient among thousands he treated successfully pro Deo on the African soil, for six days later she was well enough to travel on, after having visited the Botanical Gardens as well. Her husband couldn't wait to explore the surrounding area and "walked through the Botanical Gardens over the hill to the reservoir" twice to admire the many exotic plants and species. He took several other walks with Messrs Hay, Brotherton, Bruce, Temlett and Johnson through the nearby forests and made many friends during that week. They attended morning worship and Communion, were invited by the Brotherton and Temlett families and made extremely welcome by the whole church, as a novelty, for there had never been a German Baptist minister before. When Mary got sick, the whole church surrounded them with love and kindness which they would remember all their lives. At that time, Grahamstown was their nearest Baptist church.

He was invited to preach on Tuesday evening 3 December, for the first time in Africa, to a large and appreciative *English* congregation—in *English*, which was no problem, just strange, for he had come all this way from Germany to serve his own compatriots. The title of his message was "What would I do, if God visited us?"<sup>136</sup> All their luggage arrived in Grahamstown—how they thanked God!—before Oscar Donion's horses and coach turned up. At their departure on Thursday 5 December at 11<sup>30</sup> a great number from the church assembled to wave them goodbye. They were three days on the 'road' and spent the nights at Breakfast Vlei and 'Green River' Hotel on the Keiskama crossing. While they were quite a distance from their destination, a mounted company of eight Baptists welcomed them on behalf of the church and then escorted them.<sup>137</sup> Twelve more joined the party on the hilltop as the few huts of King Williams Town down in the valley were pointed out to them. It was the afternoon of Saturday 7 December 1867 when they entered the "Borough and Capital of British Kaffraria" to live there for the next sixty years, for Mary Gutsche died

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<sup>135</sup> Gutsche Diary 30 Nov & 2 Dec.

<sup>136</sup> Diary 3 Dec.

<sup>137</sup> Diary 7 Dec.

in 'King' in 1925 and her husband in 1926. Actually, what they saw for the first time from the hilltop

"was an encampment, reserved for military purposes. The place was very much scattered; there were no streets to speak of and the only conspicuous objects in the town were the cottages of the old military pensioners ... The postmaster of those days was a military sergeant; and the post-cart used to call from Grahamstown two or three times a week."<sup>138</sup>

We have often wondered whether the German Settlers of those days were able to appreciate fully how devoted and saintly, capable and distinguished a couple had answered their call and taken up domicile in their midst.

We observe then, that young Carl Hugo and Mary Gutsche were ideally suited for their life's work in South Africa, spiritually, mentally and physically. His two years under Oncken's training and the one as an itinerant lay preacher throughout Germany equipped him to be the undershepherd of God's chosen flock in Southern Africa. Mary's upbringing by her parents and later Oncken's guardianship enabled them to lead people to the Cross of Christ toward repentance and faith, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and with much prayer, because that's where they came from. The practical Pietism of Francke und Tholuck in Halle and the evangelistic fervour of Zinzendorf, Spurgeon and Oncken became the role model, marching order and point of reference for their combined ministry in South Africa.

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<sup>138</sup> *Kaffrarian Watchman* 7.12.1892: Part of the article on 'Rev. H. Gutsche Celebrates his Semi-Jubilee'.

## Chapter 2: The German Settlers of 1858 and the Frankfurt Baptist Church

Gutsche came to King Williams Town nine years after the 1858 Settlers. It is important to speak of this pre-ceeding period and how Langhein's team prepared the way for their first ordained minister from Germany.

The German immigration to British Kaffraria was a completely unplanned and unforeseen event in history. Britain had hired more than 10,000 Foreign Legionaries, most of them Germans, to fight the Russians in the Crimean War of 1853-56 in which Britain, France, Turkey and Piedmont (the heartland of modern Italy) eventually defeated the enemy. Privately, Prussia and Austria were in sympathy with the Russian cause, although officially they remained neutral. For that reason the many young German volunteers had to enrol secretly by cover of night, using smaller boats from the coast to the British Isle of Heligoland, situated about 50 miles north north-west of the Weser and Elbe estuaries. When the foreign troops arrived in Constantinople the war was over. The German regiment returned to Britain without having fired a single shot; they felt rather like holiday-makers returning from a pleasant sightseeing trip.<sup>139</sup>

How to dispose of the German Legion posed a problem, for most of them had lost their nationality by leaving the country illegally; most likely they would be arrested after their return. New homes had to be found elsewhere. Their contract stated that at the end of hostilities they would be discharged with a gratuity of one year's pay and a free passage either to their homes or to North America.<sup>140</sup>

Queen Victoria and her German Prince Consort Albert of Saxony felt honour bound to find a new homeland for their "cousins." Sir George Grey from Cape Town had just requested at least 8,000 military settlers for Kaffraria, hopefully a greater number with wives and children, to strengthen the Eastern Border defences. Her Majesty signed an appro-

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<sup>139</sup> Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, pp. 55-57.

<sup>140</sup> Edgar L.G. Schnell, *For Men Must Work*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1954, p. 50.



priate proclamation on 11 March 1856 to transfer the German Legion to King Williams Town.<sup>141</sup>

Concerning the German Baptists in Kaffraria it has to be pointed out that no records or minutes were kept by Langhein and his helpers, until Hugo Gutsche arrived in December 1867 to rectify this situation and start proper membership lists, cash books and birth, marriage and death registers. He also entered, after careful scrutiny, all births, baptisms and deaths between 1861 and 1867, as they were reported to him. So we have to rely sources like newspapers, statistics from Germany and reports from the second generation.<sup>142</sup> Only from 1868 onwards we can draw on the many documents and writings of Gutsche himself.

## **German Legionaries (1857) and Civilian Settler Families (1858/59)**

The legionaries came to the newly created British Kaffrarian Crown Colony (1848) with the southern boundary of the Keiskama and Fish Rivers, and the Kei River in the north. This buffer zone was meant to lessen the conflict between the rival groups of white Cape colonists and

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<sup>141</sup> Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, p. 57-58. – The story of the German Legionaries 1857 and Settlers 1858 is told by many authors in their South African History Books, notably Theal, Cory, Walker, Trümpelmann, Fitzpatrick and others. I have also collected many newspaper reports from churches and local authorities which printed booklets for anniversaries and Golden or Centenary Celebrations. However, we found the two works of Dr Edgar Schnell the most comprehensive and best researched ones. He cites primary sources and is most reliable in his 1928 Cape Town Manuscript on the "German Immigration to the Cape" and his 1954 doctoral dissertation "For Men Must Work" with University Grahamstown Rhodes (Maskew Miller Cape Town). They are a goldmine of facts and details; for he lived in the Border when some of the first generation settlers were still alive and the second one remembered well what their parents had told them.

<sup>142</sup> For practical purposes it means that for this chapter we have to rely on Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, J.F. Schwär and B.E. Pape, *Deutsche in Kaffraria. Germans in Kaffraria. Duiters in Kaffraria, 1858 – 1859*, Pinetown: Robprint, 1958.

marauding Blacks from the north who frequently invaded the Cape Province from across the Kei. Army forts and military settlements would be a wall of protection, so the Cape Governors argued and proposed.<sup>143</sup> They proved partly right, for a time: Comparative peace came to the area for the next 25 years.

Eventually, when the German legionaries arrived at the East London harbour from 15 January 1857 onwards, under the command of Major General Baron A. Richard von Stutterheim (1809-1872), only 2918 soldiers disembarked, most of them unmarried. But for the hurried mass marriages immediately before the voyage, the ratio would have been worse. The Government realized that without ties to hearth and family the bachelors would soon be unsettled, distracted and tempted to embark on new, even immoral ventures instead of persevering in the new villages to be established. The men needed wives badly and were advised to get married immediately. Free passage was granted for wives, children, brides or girlfriends from Germany. Others set out to find partners in England. 52 couples were married on board the HMS Britannia, and one of the chaplains stated two years later that he had joined as many as 60 or 70 couples in one day.<sup>144</sup> Even 65 years later (1921) numerous anecdotes circulated about bride swoppings and wife exchanges during the voyage in the close quarters of the vessels; quite a few couples had second and third thoughts, until after some trial and error, they happily settled down with the final choice.<sup>145</sup>

Europe was now 10,000 km away and the episode of the Crimean War almost forgotten. They found themselves dumped in the midst of indigenous forests and primeval hills, where wild beasts roamed and angry natives resented their intrusion. Before long Captain Heinrich Ohlsen was found murdered on 25 Feb 1857 outside King Williams Town, with a deep axe wound on the skull and a spear in his back. His

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<sup>143</sup> D.M. Preston, *Beal. The Story of a Frontier, Town Cathcart 1851-1976* Private Publication: 1976, p. 62, 64, 65.

<sup>144</sup> Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, p. 65.

<sup>145</sup> Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, chapters V & VI.

horse, revolver, watch and money were missing. After another attack things quietened down somewhat.<sup>146</sup>

Sir George Grey established an additional defence post at Kabusie Nek near Stutterheim and named the new place Ohlsen in honour of their slain captain, whose funeral was attended by nearly all inhabitants of King Williams Town as well as the British Garrison and German Legionaries. Ohlsen's friends collected money for the erection of a memorial at the place of his death which is still standing today (1999) next to the old road from King to Mount Coke, close to the Railway line near Cambridge Street, and has the following words engraved on the brownish sandstone:<sup>147</sup>

Capitain Ferdinand Ohlsen  
ermordet mit Assegai 25 Februar 1857  
British Deutsche Legion  
Gelandet in Afrika am 2 Februar 1857

The Legionaires were stationed at Fort Murray near King Williams Town (Capital of Kaffraria) and in Berlin, Potsdam, along the Buffalo River, at Frankfurt, Ohlsen-Stutterheim, Dohne and several other small but strategic outposts. They were good soldiers but turned out to be bad settlers and farmers. They were restless. Most of them could not cope with the harshness of pioneering life and the dangers from the bush. Only a few started vegetable gardens and built proper houses but most stayed in simple huts or shelters. However, several irrigation furrows for garden and domestic use were structured. Progress was slow. In May 1858, 15 months after their arrival, only 5% of the available land was under cultivation and 20% of the much needed houses were completed. Many deserted to find employment in the Cape Colony, Transvaal, Free State and Natal communities. When soldiers were urgently needed to quell the Indian Mutiny, 1058 men volunteered which indicated that the life as colonists had little attraction for the ex Crimean soldiers. The

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<sup>146</sup> Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, p. 68.

<sup>147</sup> Spanuth 1908, p. 3 – Schmidt-Pretoria writes about Captain Heinrich Ohlsen. Is it possible that he was Ferdinand Heinrich, or did Schmidt make a mistake? The inscription on the sandstone should be considered to be the correct one.

majority of them loved to remain mercenaries and jumped at the opportunity to take up arms once more in a foreign and exotic land. They left in October 1858. It meant that the German Settlements in Kaffraria were as good as dissolved after an existence of less than two years. Only about 900 mostly single men were left in and around King Williams Town.<sup>148</sup>

The Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, was disappointed by this turn of events. It was clear that he needed more German settler families with plenty of girls. He applied to Downing Street for at least 1000 units for it seemed stupid and irresponsible to have hundreds of bachelors living alone. Because no one knew when the 1000 requested families would arrive, and wives were needed urgently, he hit upon a novel idea which found favour with the Colonial Secretary Labouchere in London (March 1857). Grey wrote:

"I have sold 35 building plots of crown land in King Williams Town and realised £1831; with the proceeds I like to import as many single maidens as you can find, who are strong, healthy and of good character. I could not get too many and have no problem to match them without delay; my men are willing and keen."<sup>149</sup>

London suggested in reply that Ireland had an abundant supply of such girls in orphanages and similar institutions. HMS "Lady Kennaway" of 584 tons, built from the finest Indian Teak of Calcutta, would leave within a few weeks. Two suitable married couples would accompany them as chaperones for propriety. The proud ship was wrecked two days after landing at the Orient Beach of East London, during a severe storm which bashed the vessel against and on and off the rocks as if she were a nutshell (arrival 23 Nov, destroyed 25 Nov 1857). First the anchor gave way, then the masts broke like matches, finally the hull disintegrated into little planks and scraps which littered the beach. There was no loss of life. From the 153 girls<sup>150</sup> not more than 20 married the waiting German men.

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<sup>148</sup> Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, p. 144; Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, pp. 82-84.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 161-163.

<sup>150</sup> Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, speaks of 250.

The sailors of the wrecked ship and the Grahamstown British soldiers claimed the bulk. The rest scattered all over the country to marry only when they had met Mister Right or were ready to settle down. – For Sir George Grey it turned out to be an expensive enterprise: Each girl had cost him either £12 (153) or £7½ (250). But seeing that only twenty of them married the earmarked German soldiers, for which purpose he had brought them out, 90% of them he wrote off as a loss which meant that the twenty young Fräuleins had cost him nearly £100 each!<sup>151</sup>

Although these German Settlers were not aware of it, they became pawns in a game and were used as 'guinea pigs' to test the options and theories of how best to deal with, control, educate and integrate the native tribes on the northern borders of the Cape which Britain had annexed from 1814 onward. The success of the second wave of German farmers of 1858 sealed and confirmed the policy of Sir George Grey, to mingle whites and blacks and create a nation which could live and work together in harmony. That, at least, was his goal. However, it also was an early building block for the apartheid policy several decades later. Which goes to show that, like all political systems and schemes, they are not foolproof, although it seemed to work fairly well initially!

The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw perhaps the biggest mass migration in modern history. On an unprecedented scale, between 1820 and 1887 about 20 million Europeans left for the colonies, the South and North American States, for Africa, Australasia, India, and the ends of the earth. The Germans were heavily involved in this 'Wanderlust'.<sup>152</sup> Inevitably, wherever white people arrived in primitive regions to develop modern infrastructures and exploit the industrial and mineral opportunities, racial prejudice and friction arose when tension between the privileged and the disadvantaged groups often reached breaking point.

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<sup>151</sup> Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, pp. 163 & 209; Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, 68; Archives Cape Town 39/2 Irish Female Immigrants 1857/58.

<sup>152</sup> *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* 1909-1912. Bibliographische Institute Leipzig & Wien, II:179-181.

Sir George Grey did not give up easily. He was a good man of forty-two, relatively young and vigorous, a good administrator and the first Governor for a long time who was not a military man. He believed to let the Xhosa be ruled in their reserves by their own chiefs under European guidance and to rely on time and that "innate sense of justice and truth for which they have a religious respect" to break down evil customs.<sup>153</sup>

He kept on trying to make his northern borders safer. The German Legionaries had paved the way. He asked for 4000 German *farmer families* with plenty of children to populate the danger areas between the Fish and Kei rivers. Eventually he got 445 families with 1848 persons between 15 April 1858 and 1 February 1859. By this influx the population of Kaffraria doubled within twelve months.<sup>154</sup> The remaining soldiers had something to talk about, as the new arrivals settled in among them, for many former homesteads were empty and gardens left unattended since the Indian Regiment had left.

### ***The Settlers' Origin and Transition***

The settlers came mainly from the Eastern parts of Germany, altogether 445 Families.

|              |     |             |   |                  |   |
|--------------|-----|-------------|---|------------------|---|
| Pomerania    | 137 | Württemberg | 9 | Baden            | 3 |
| Uckermark    | 117 | Altmark     | 6 | Nassau           | 2 |
| Brandenburg  | 39  | Brunswick   | 6 | Schwarzburg      | 2 |
| Silesia      | 20  | Prussia     | 6 | Bavaria          | 1 |
| Hanover      | 18  | Saxony      | 5 | Saxony Meiningen | 1 |
| Spreewald    | 17  | Swabia      | 5 | Berlin           | 1 |
| Saxony Gotha | 13  | Holstein    | 5 | Austria          | 1 |
| Mecklenburg  | 11  | Westprussia | 5 | Denmark          | 1 |
| Hesse        | 10  | Poland      | 4 |                  |   |

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<sup>153</sup> D.M. Beal Preston, *The Story of a Frontier Town* (Cathcart 1851-1976) Private Publication: 1976, p. 64.

<sup>154</sup> Johann Spanuth, *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Siedelungsjubiläum der Deutschen in Kaffraria, 7. Juli 1858 – 7. Juli 1908*, Berlin Cape, Private Publication, 1908, p. 25f & Dodds pamphlet.

They came on six ships, in 1858 and 1859, travelling from Hamburg to Embark in East London.

|                         |           |            |                        |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|------------------------|
| <i>Caesar Godeffroy</i> | 622 tons  | 298 people | (15.4.1858-7.7.1858)   |
| <i>La Rochelle</i>      | 1000 tons | 463 people | (31.5.1858-28.8.1858)  |
| <i>Wandrahm</i>         | 564 tons  | 344 people | (31.8.1858-6.12.1858)  |
| <i>Wilhelmsburg</i>     | 1000 tons | 563 people | (19.10.1858-13.1.1859) |
| <i>Peter Godeffroy</i>  | 350 tons  | 275 people | (30.9.1858-19.1.1859)  |
| <i>Johann Caesar</i>    | 364 tons  | 202 people | (1.11.1858-3.1.1859)   |

2145 immigrants embarked, but only 2020 arrived in East London, because during the voyage many died, especially children.

|                          |                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Caesar Godeffroy:</i> | 18 children died of scarlet fever.                                                                                      |
| <i>La Rochelle:</i>      | 7 children and 6 adults died.                                                                                           |
| <i>Wandrahm</i>          | 10 children and Mathes Kobus (37) died who left his wife Liese (34) with 5 children behind. She settled at Stutterheim. |
| <i>Wilhelmsburg</i>      | 64 children died of scarlet fever and one mother who left husband and several children behind                           |
| <i>Peter Godeffroy:</i>  | 5 children died.                                                                                                        |
| <i>Johann Caesar:</i>    | 5 children died.                                                                                                        |

*Captain Nicolaus Stortenbecker*, in charge of the *Caesar Godeffroy* was the first of the six immigrant ships to arrive. He must have been very kind to his passengers, for they presented him with an address before leaving the ship. It showed their appreciation for the treatment they had received by 'thanking him for his interest in their welfare and safety which, under God, they attributed to the Captain.'<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1954, p. 181.

*Captain Johannes Meyer* of the La Rochelle had **Carsten Langhein** (48), his wife Catharina (41) and their five children on board. As a Baptist lay preacher he was the unofficial pastor, with prayer meetings and services, who comforted the dying and encouraged the sick. He was held in high esteem and so effective that quite a few passengers got converted and later joined his church in Frankfurt.

*Captain H. Decker* sailed the Wandrahm into the Buffalo Harbour after 96 days.

*Captain C.H. Müller* deserves special mention: His "Wilhelmsburg" suffered the highest number of fatalities. 64 children died of scarlet fever. It was a sad Christmas on the high seas when so many bags of precious little people had to be lowered overboard. The ship's doctor Carl Paul was desperate and asked Müller to race the engines to the very limits to get more help on land as soon as possible. **Carl Gustav Adolf Schmidt** (36), a Baptist and carpenter by trade, his wife Christine (39) and their three children were on board. Their children escaped the scarlet fever epidemic; they thanked God to the end of their lives for it and made Berlin their home.

*Captain J. Johannsen* commanded the smallest vessel, Peter Godeffroy and needed the longest time for the voyage, 109 days. Christian Friedrich Sandow (37), Baptist and fisherman, and his wife Albertine (35) with their five children were with Johannsen and settled in Braunschweig.

*Captain H Möller* and his boat Johann Caesar was last, with the smallest group of 202 passengers.

With the arrival of the German farmers British Kaffraria's population suddenly doubled; East London had 124 white civilians and the whole Crown area 2994 in 1858. The 2020 new arrivals certainly made a difference, and Sir George Grey was happy.<sup>156</sup>

The 'Deutsche Beobachter in Süd-Africa' printed a special edition on 16 June 1858 when the 'Caesar Godeffroy' left Simonstown Cape for East London, extending a hearty welcome to the immigrants, at the same

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<sup>156</sup> Dodd's Pamphlet & Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, p. 276.



time pointing out that 'the land of milk and honey will also bring distress and disappointment from time to time.'

## **Untold Privations, Sufferings and Anxieties**

When the ships arrived in East London, surf-boats were used to get the settlers and their luggage on land for there were no proper quays or deep channels. Tents and some wooden buildings close to the shore were waiting to house and prepare them for the move into the hinterland. Before the immigration board they could express their wishes as to where they liked to go. However, as strangers they had no idea about the merits or demerits of any location. Sometimes the Legionaries gave them useful hints—for what it was worth. It was the height of summer and they made their first acquaintance with the humidity and heat of the region and the warmer waters of the Indian Ocean, as compared with the rough and cold Atlantic and the European climate. The glorious flower displays, mighty trees and huge tall grass impressed; the virgin ground rose up from the harbour on both banks of the Buffalo River and looked promising. This soil was of the utmost importance to the farmers. They squeezed the damp clay with both hands or let the sand run through their fingers. This was the raw material on which they depended. Just as well it was not winter when higher up after Cambridge towards Potsdam everything would be brown and bleak with sharply howling winds and cold nippy air waves and snow on the Amatola Mountains toward Stutterheim and Hogsback, making them freeze to death!—The few bags and boxes were put onto carriages and ox wagons and the transport proceeded inland in stages. Fortunately, they were not dumped in the middle of nowhere but always found a clearing, or a camping place of departed soldiers. The Legionaries who had stayed behind were happy to gain some new friends.<sup>157</sup>

In King Williams Town they were received with the utmost kindness and provided with makeshift shelters, food, planks, timber, grass and reeds to improvise bedsteads, tables and elementary utensils. The bush and the woods gave sufficient raw material. There were enough craftsmen and skilled artisans among them to improve their living conditions almost

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<sup>157</sup> Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Reimer, 1955, pp. 103-104.

daily. The fortunate ones occupied deserted cottages and land from the departed Legionaries, others erected temporary dwellings against sun and rain, of sod, wattle poles and thatched roofs. Friedrich Schermbrücker near King, "one of our most honoured and energetic compatriots" supplied food and shelter, building materials and practical advice to several families. The resident Germans agreed to offer the equivalent of two days' pay per month toward a benevolent fund to assist the poor newcomers.<sup>158</sup>

Everything was very primitive, but there was one big difference between the German past and the African present: They were now their own free masters, and depended upon their own initiative whether they remained in this poor and pennyless state or advance to more comfortable situations. Back home the peasants had been subjected to their masters, to render respect and service to the estate barons. An 1858 immigrant testified

"I am not sorry we came to South Africa, for after all, we are much freer here. In Germany, we were practically serfs, the subjects of our masters. It was always: 'Your most gracious lord, to command'. The people had to stand with their hats in their hands in the hot sun, whenever their master spoke to them."<sup>159</sup>

August Peinke relates in his story how his parents had been servants to the landed gentry. This pitiful condition made them move from Replin to Liptow, then to Lölitz but neediness and poverty remained. To settle in South Africa seemed to be one way out of their misery. But in order to leave they had to sell their furniture and a few other goods to reach the harbour in Hamburg. All their belongings could be packed on a little cart or small horse wagon. Fortunately, the passage to East London was prepaid by the British Government and they were able to go. Dr Schwär observes how the labourers on the Pomeranian Estates were under constant pressure:

"During the week they had to serve their Masters from early to late. When they had a little free time on Sundays, they had to do the

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<sup>158</sup> *Deutscher Beobachter in Süd-Africa*, Vol I, No 6.

<sup>159</sup> Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, p. 205.

urgent things for the family and around their poor cottage and in the stable ... From this pressure they were now free."<sup>160</sup>

My parents and grandparents told me how even under a good squire life was hard for them. They were obliged to toil from day to day for miserable wages plus a small cottage supplied close to the manor. At harvest time all were needed. Only the Sundays were their own, after they had milked the cows, fed and watered the horses and all other domestic animals. Then they might work their own small plot of vegetables and flower corners around the house. Poverty kept them tied to their masters.<sup>161</sup>

The euphoria and excitement of being in a sub-tropical country soon wore off. With all the discoveries of new flora and fauna, with the frequent showing of elephants and lions and other big game, which was awesome and frightening at times, where the monkeys said good night (and took whatever their hands could grab in the process), and where wild berries and incredibly colourful birds abounded—all this was of short duration when reality caught up with them. Within weeks after their arrival things went wrong: Most of them had not received their land early enough to start clearing the bush, removing stones, plowing and sowing the seed which they hoped would soon be issued to them. They were willing to pay but the Government bureaucracy was slow or bungling, all the more so as most items and decrees had to be approved by Downing Street London, weeks away. Generally speaking, London seemed to think they had done their part of the contract. This was not true. How should their new subjects eat and live without land, farming implements and

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<sup>160</sup> J.F. Schwär, *Deutsche in Kaffraria*; Supplement to "Die Eiche" No 23, Pretoria: King Printing Co Ltd, King Williams Town, 1958, p. 9 (translated Klaus Fiedler).

<sup>161</sup> After the First World War my parents had to move as refugees from Poland to Germany into the Northeim/Hannover district. I was five years old and walked the ten kilometer from Berwartshausen to Hohnstedt behind the borrowed horse carriage next to the goat which was tied to the back bumper. Mother pushed the pram with four months' old brother Paul inside while father Philipp led and checked the bridled horse in front. All our possessions were on that small wagon, crowned by a cage with several laying hens and a few geese; we did not need a pan-technicon!

much needed animals for cultivation, all of which had been promised?<sup>162</sup> Many petitions throughout the years 1858/59 show that the new arrivals were desperate and starving.<sup>163</sup> In East London some harbour work was in progress and the new farmers tried to find employment there for half a crown a day which was better than nothing. Others became labourers with some British or Dutch neighbours. With the little money they earned some bought tools; however, most of it went into the subsistence of their families.

"They are industrious and honest people, but labour should be given to them, even if only for the sake of charity."<sup>164</sup>

"How unnatural and cruel," they argued, "to dump some 250 foreign families in several small military villages without markets or shops, where they could buy the common necessities of life. Unless something is done immediately, the poor Germans must starve and great confusion will arise."

They were wandering up and down the streets of King Williams Town willing to work even for bread alone. In Izeli twenty six families had been deposited without any food; they lived from what they had saved from their ships' stores. Only three of their men obtained some sort of work while the rest lived on charity, ship's biscuits or the little money they had brought out for other purposes. A young girl was observed walking the streets of King William's Town in a terrible state of emaciation, by want of food. She had been stout and healthy when she arrived in the country a few weeks earlier. Everything was terribly expensive; with hollow eyes and staring gaze and hardly able to walk in the terrible heat of a strange country, they were worse off than they had ever been in the Germany of serfdom. How will this all end with this mass of people?<sup>165</sup>

These distress stories could be repeated a hundred times over. Only the few who received their land at the time of their arrival enabling them to plant and plow immediately, had something to eat within weeks. However, this was of short duration. Unfortunately, the 1859/60/61

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<sup>162</sup> *King William's Town Gazette* 24 July 1858.

<sup>163</sup> *Deutscher Beobachter in Süd Africa* 7 August 1858

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> *King William's Town Gazette* 24 July & 30 Oct 1858.

seasons brought extreme drought conditions with either no rain at all or too little too late. Worse were the hail showers or sudden storms and floods which devastated or swept away everything in the low lying areas near the dry river beds which suddenly changed into torrents of mighty waters taking with them the precious topsoil. Even their huts, farm implements and livestock were not safe. It was all very frustrating and such a hard beginning. When things were at it's worst and the petitions for help increased, Colonel Maclean sent one of his trusted clerks and interpreters, Maximilian Kayser, to investigate and report on the various cases. About the farmers in Hanover, most of whom had arrived there in April and September 1858, he writes in April 1859:<sup>166</sup>

Farmer H.B. has nothing and no prospect for obtaining work. In his land were a crop of potatoes which looked poorly and would yield very little. He had lived on vegetables from his garden since 8 March but they were all used up now.

Ch.H. was desperate. The vegetables were finished and his potatoes too green and small for digging. Last Saturday he had killed his dog and lived on its meat since then.

A.S. made a few baskets and sold some but cannot find any further buyers. He has nothing else but the 10sh a month his daughter gives him. He has no oxen nor plows and would be grateful if the Government could plow up a few acres for him, then he could repay it all the sooner.

Ch.M. has lived on wild tea leaves and cabbage given to him by others. His crop of potatoes was growing nicely; this was his only hope.

Some farmers at Izili, Kayser said, had been able to start cultivating their land and there was some indication that within a few months (before the winter of 1859) they would be in a position to provide for their families. Farmers at Keiskama Hoek complained bitterly that they had had to wait for their land allocation 12 to 18 months, thereby missing three to four planting seasons. One settler had transported 2000 pounds of potatoes

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<sup>166</sup> Cape Archives BK Rec 41 Kayser's Report.

all the 28 km to the King William's Town market to receive only £2 for the whole lot.<sup>167</sup>

The conscience of the whole Cape Colony was pricked and the Governor had to assist with rations, the average monthly cost of which for a large family was between £5 to £8. This was not sanctioned by Downing Street. But he had no choice. Sir George Colonel Maclean and others in command rallied round to help the Settlers. Some were still on limited rations in 1861, three years after their arrival. In April 1861 the remaining soldiers got their discharge and were now free to work or do what they liked. The agricultural Settler families also found their feet and could manage, even if just. The debt of £6,468 6sh 2d for rations received was written off on 8 Nov 1862, which brought much jubilation and gratitude. For the first time hope was returning to the German dwellings, after more than three very bad and painful years. The first battle had been won, they had indicated that they wanted to take roots and make a success of their lives in the newly adopted country.<sup>168</sup>

In the German section of the King Williams Town Museum I discovered the original handwritten German-English account by August Peinke, consisting of thirty pages. It has never been published and is a moving picture of the experience of a typical German Settler, born in Germany in 1842, written down by him during the First World War. It illustrates better than anything else how they overcame frustrations, hardships and trials—and won! In my judgement this is one of the best all round primary accounts of that pioneer period and worthy of inclusion in this work. His full story of set-backs and final success is appended to this book. The Peinke family is a typical example of how most 1858 Settlers, through trials and distress, overcame poverty by sheer hard work, faith in God and hope for the future.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Cape Archives British Kaffraria Records 41, Kayser's Report 6 April 1859, German Immigration.

<sup>168</sup> Edgar Schnell, *For Men Must Work*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller 1954, p. 193/4.

<sup>169</sup> The succeeding four generations of August and Auguste Peinke (née Köpke), starting with Hugo Peinke, the Transkei missionary, were richly blessed and

Eight years later, just before Carl Hugo Gutsche arrived in King William's Town, the Grahamstown Journal of 1st March 1867 wrote in its leading article

"As the Germans prospered, acre was added to acre, a cow, a horse, a few sheep were bought and diligently looked after. Rough carts were made to convey the garden and other produce to market. And thus the homestead grew. Many of them being handy and patient, they commenced to manufacture such utensils as were in common use, and supplied the market of King Williamstown with churns, tubs, barrels, water fikes, and baskets ... Of course, all have not prospered alike; but they all live; there is no outcry of distress from their villages and farms ... they seem to have made good their footing on the land, and have laid the foundation of what promises to be at least a moderately thriving community. We have long considered that one of the most important questions for the Cape is being worked out by the German immigrants over the Keiskama. These people are proving that an industrious white population can live and prosper on the soil of South Africa by the means of personal labour bestowed on comparatively small allotments, aided by the patient practice of such small handicrafts as may find material in the bush of the colony, and encouraged by such markets as King Williamstown and East London. There is a notion abroad that the colony is not adapted to carry any number of small white proprietors, - that it is useless to think of families settling down on a few acres, and trusting to the results of their labour ... Such objections ... are at once demolished by facts; and that is what the Germans in British Kaffraria are apparently doing. They are proving that that can be done which is commonly said cannot be done."

Our three Baptist families were part of the struggles, trials, frustrations and set-backs. But they had an additional mission besides taming the bush and working, nursing, persuading and invoking their land to come up with the promised harvests. They reached out almost daily to their compatriots to offer a better quality of life through faith in Jesus Christ who gives strength to conquer the many obstacles. Soon it became known in the King Williams Town district, that, if anyone was in trouble,

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prospered; I knew them personally and had the privilege of serving with and to them in the course of my South African ministry.

in need of urgent prayer or just wanting to study the Bible, Carsten Langhein, Carl Schmidt or Christian Sandow were ready to come any evening after work or over weekends to give spiritual help.

### **Carsten Langhein and his first Converts<sup>170</sup>**

Five Baptists were among the German Settlers of 1858. All others belonged to the Lutheran Church, with a few Roman Catholics thrown in for good measure. The Baptists were Carsten and Katharina Dorothea Langhein, Carl Gustav Adolf and Maria Christine Schmidt and Christian Friedrich Sandow, whose wife was converted later and then baptised by Carsten Langhein in the Yellowwood River below Frankfurt. Those five were relatively young Baptists in the prime of their lives. There is a slight possibility that they might have known about each other while still in Germany. Schmidt and his wife had been baptised by Pastor Gülzau in Stettin (Pomerania) and Sandow by Pastor Kemnitz in Templin (Pomerania). They soon came together for prayer and encouragement and their first discussions were about the most urgent matter at hand: How best to witness for Christ and with the converts start their own Baptist Church in Africa. They stuck together like a clover-leaf-trio, living in Frankfurt, Braunschweig and Berlin just within 5 to 15 km of each other. They were like a miniature replica of the Oncken, Köbner and Lehmann trio back in Germany.

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<sup>170</sup> No original documents, minutes or records exist for the time from 1861 to Gutsche's arrival in 1867. There is not a single family photo of Carsten and his wife Dorothea. He is reported to have said "If I want to see myself, I can look into a bucket of water, so why have my photo taken?" When pastor Fritz Schwarz in March 1936 issued his book on *"Fünfundsiebzig Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861-1936"* (143 pages) he drew heavily on Dr Ph Gutsche who was the appointed official historian of the German Baptists. From his father Carl Hugo he gathered much material and data on the beginnings of the Frankfurt work. In addition, some children of Carsten Langhein and many of the first and second generation were still alive to supply facts and figures to Schwarz. Unfortunately, his book remains the only source for the first nine years, even Dr Karl Schneider's notes on Langhein's early years in Hamburg and W.A. Grunewald's diary have been lost. All efforts to get or recover some of those original written notes have failed.



Carsten Langhein was soon recognised as their natural leader. Coming from the First German Baptist Church in Hamburg and having been baptised by Oncken himself, gave him an added distinction and authority, quite apart from his spiritual and preaching abilities. Professor Karl Schneider relates that he was born on the 20 June 1809 in the little village of Willstedt/Lemsahl, then moved to Tangstedt near Hamburg after his marriage in 1847, to make a living as bricklayer, plasterer and road-paver.<sup>171</sup> The soil was rather poor and people had to supplement their meagre income by bringing peat and firewood to Hamburg. On one of these trips Langhein went into a second hand shop for a wardrobe when the owner Mr Rittmer gave him a religious tract at the conclusion of the purchase. That night he joked about it to his friend Krogman. One or two days later a public scandal hit the village when it was discovered that their Lutheran pastor had made a girl pregnant in the course of his 'spiritual' duties as prison chaplain; the baby had just been born in jail and a wave of shame and disgust swept through Tangstedt.

Carsten and Katharina Langhein were no longer prepared to bring their first-born infant to that minister for christening. Instead he remembered the tract and went back to brother Rittmer for more information. He returned the next day—soundly converted and confessing his new faith in Jesus Christ, so much so that the town people thought he was mad. They even beat him up to which Langhein replied "The Apostles also got their stripes and blows." He could not be silenced and within a few weeks had won over his friends Krogmann, Ehrhorn, Wolgast and Biel to the Baptist faith. All five were baptised by Oncken shortly afterwards on 4<sup>th</sup> March 1849 in Hamburg Baptist Church. Langhein's wife followed him ten weeks later (22 May 1849). He was 40 and she 32 when they were born again. These five families established the Tangstedt Baptist Church in 1854. Some of their meetings were broken up, sometimes the police arrested them, once they were molested and beaten up by seventeen peasants but nothing would stop them.

When the Langheins emigrated they left their church and home with a heavy heart: They had seven children but were only allowed to take five with them: Their two badly crippled children Anna and Katharina were

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<sup>171</sup> Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, p. 10.

refused entry into South Africa. A large sum of money was requested as security against the day when the invalid children might become a liability to the State. Carsten Langhein was poor in worldly goods and it took tremendous courage and intense heart searching to leave them behind with his brother Claus. It was "goodbye" for life, for they never went back, not even for a holiday. However, the Lord blessed them with another two healthy children born in Wiesbaden-Frankfurt, thereby making up for the lost ones. These two South African babies arrived when their mother was 42 and 44 years of age! During the week they struggled to establish their humble homes and cultivate the stubborn ground. But at night they met for singing, prayer and Bible readings, often till the early hours of the morning. Carsten Langhein made it known that he was available and happy to go anywhere between King Williams Town and East London to preach the Word over weekends. Soon little Baptist cells emerged at Stutterheim, Frankfurt, Keiskama Hoek, Hannover, Berlin and East London.<sup>172</sup>

History was made when these five Kaffrarian immigrant believers under Carsten Langhein covenanted together on the 14 April 1861 at Frankfurt during the first Communion Service, to establish the "Evangelical Baptists and Christians at Frankfurt." At nearby Braunschweig the little group called themselves "Believing Baptised Christians" whereas another minute book states "Evangelical Church of Baptised Christians in Africa." It is clear that they had a vision for the whole African Continent.<sup>173</sup>

Carsten Langhein and his helpers walked over the hills and the Amatola Mountains to Keiskama Hoek, up to Stutterheim and Döhne across the Kubusie and right down to the "Sea Station" on the Indian Ocean. Often they walked barefoot because their home-made shoes were precious and reserved for Sunday wear. It was also much easier to get through the red mud and over boulders. Sometimes they travelled on horseback. Flooded rivers and streams made crossings dangerous and often impassable. Most missionary journeys were undertaken towards evening after a hard day's labour; most often they returned long after midnight when the next day's farmwork to be tackled was only "forty

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<sup>172</sup> Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, pp. 5-18.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

winks" away. But it was very rewarding and they loved it. Within eight months, at the end of 1861, the membership of baptised believers had grown from 5 to 67, an increase of over 1000%. By December 1867 they had 283 members.

The secret of the phenomenal growth under Langhein's ministry surely lies in the fact that his religion and love for God was totally integrated with the fabric of his personal life. The heartfelt sincerity of his faith motivated all his actions into saintly behaviour which became the powerful vehicle for his evangelism. People believed his message for it was backed up by his deeds.

Pastor Wilhelm Reimers said quite rightly in 1900 that no other Baptist preacher, not even Carl Hugo Gutsche himself, could claim to have gained so many (less five foundation members) within the short span of 6 years.<sup>174</sup> Their 'successes cost them dearly, though they were used to it from the early days in Germany. W.A. Grunewald of Stutterheim writes in his undated diary:

"Brothers Langhein and Gottfried Spann came into my house last Sunday. I invited neighbours to hear the new preacher, among them was Mr H. who started to argue with Langhein about Thomas Müntzer, even read from a book about the infamous Anabaptists. H. became very angry and started to curse him but Langhein remained humble and continued to preach the Word until H. shouted "You are a piece of fire-wood destined to burn in Hell." Then Langhein turned and said: "I will ask God to forgive your sins and save you from Hell as a burning piece of fire-wood." Not long after this same Mr H. put fire to his own house. Neighbours forced the door and rescued him from the raging flames, but he died from his burns a few days later ... During the arguments and angry accusations Gottfried Spann left the room to discover a gang of men waiting to beat them up. He managed to flee across the Kubusie River to the safety of the Frankfurt side. A Mister Lotz, with his big dog, then offered to bring the 'sectarian preacher' across the river. Langhein gladly accepted

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<sup>174</sup> Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, p. 17.

the offer and joined bro Spann on the other side. They went their way rejoicing."<sup>175</sup>

Frankfurt in 1861 was the third-oldest Baptist Church in the country, after Grahamstown (1820) and Port Elizabeth (1854), followed later by Durban (1864), Alice (1874), Cape Town (1876) and Berlin (1878). - The Rev Alexander Hay made a special trip from Grahamstown to Frankfurt and ordained Carsten Langhein to the Christian ministry as elder and pastor on 25 August 1861. Grahamstown also helped them with Bibles, New Testaments and occasionally sent some money to assist with travelling and other expenses connected with the ministry. Soon after this the Frankfurt Baptist Church became the biggest of the three.

On the 5th Febr 1865 Friedrich Berndt was appointed to collect funds for their first chapel in Frankfurt. They also sent £4 to Hamburg for Sunday School books and religious tracts to disseminate the Gospel among the German colonists. In 1868 the Hamburg statistics reveal that the Kaffrarian Church distributed 20,000 German Gospel tracts. – From Keiskama Hoek they pushed their wheelbarrows with potatoes to the King Williams Town market, 28 km each way and realised about 3sh per load. The following Sunday they would give 10% from this to the church. Still, Carsten Langhein often asked them to give more than their tithing to God's Kingdom in Kaffraria.<sup>176</sup>

They had their first "Liebesmahl" (Love Feast) soon after the church had been constituted. W.A. Grunewald reports in his (lost) diary in 1862:

"Radloff came to Stutterheim and told us that Sandow at Braunschweig invites everyone to a big Liebesmahl. Would we like to come? Yes, I would love it and could easily manage the 12 km but I don't want to leave my wife behind who can't walk that far. Whereupon brother Sandow came with his horse cart to take us all, including the children, to his home and then to church. He also brought us back when everything was over. I must say that was very generous and showed his great love for us and the Lord. He also gave us food all those days. It also cost him four or five working days each time but he did not mind.

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid. pp. 7-8.

<sup>176</sup> Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, pp. 9 & 16.

"When the 'Liebesmahl' began I was so tired that I fell asleep. But when the praying and singing started, all of a sudden my sleep was gone and I sat through the whole night, wide awake. Several guests were converted and I understood the Scripture verse: 'Where two or three are gathered in my name I will be in the midst of them!' ... Carsten Langhein baptised 13 converts in the nearby river. As I was watching I felt a deep desire to be baptised myself. If Langhein had only said 'Come' I would have jumped into the water, clothes and all! I could not stand the struggle for long and went about 50 m further to be by myself. That night my wife was saved; four days later I accepted the Lord after brother Sandow had brought us back to Stutterheim."<sup>177</sup>

Those early baptismal services had their drama: Godless and spiteful people sometimes took a straw-doll, a dog or cock to the river and dipped them into the water as a mockery of the sacred rite. What was worse, broken bottles and other sharp objects were cast into the very pools where Carsten Langhein would baptise. In Keiskama Hoek several candidates suffered severe bleeding from cuts to the soles of their feet from these malicious acts.

## **An Anabaptist Revolt in Kaffraria?**

The Lutherans were hostile and un-cooperative. Their missionary Liefeldt speaks of

"a revolt of the Anabaptists in Kaffraria; a great number of the German immigrants join the movement ... We feel that a wild reverie like the North American situation has developed in our midst.

"Driving rain made me seek shelter in a nearby dwelling. A big unmade bed occupied most of the small room of the German immigrant. The head of the family read from Revelation 19:18 just as I entered. In the corner sat a lean tall man crying bitterly at the same time. A young woman fed ducklings which lived under the bed. When the little service was over I asked the weeping man what the trouble was. He replied 'I want to be a saint but cannot manage'. I reminded him that Jesus saves sinners and that he should rather read the Gospels than study Revelation. I shouldn't have said that because

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<sup>177</sup> Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, p. 8-9.

now the whole company argued with me about the significancy [sic] of the Book of Revelation. Had to hastily move to the door and retreat as I wished them a good day and God's blessing."<sup>178</sup>

This same Rev H Liefeldt of the Lutheran 'Liefeldt Mission' at Petersburg had a most tragic experience during 1855/56 of which the Frankfurt Baptists probably knew nothing because it happened before their arrival:

"his two daughters were drowned in the Buffalo River at Karshagen's Drift near Izeli when his cart capsized in the river when he was on his way to conduct a service."<sup>179</sup>

For the first seven years all meetings and Bible Studies were conducted in private homes, farm barns, under trees or other suitable shelters. Kitchens and cattle sheds became the spiritual birthplace of many souls—until their first 'Bethel Chapel' in Frankfurt was opened on 8 November 1868. With the growth of the work in many preaching stations several additional leaders emerged and sometimes became more popular than their spiritual father. There were three distinctive schools: Carsten Langhein as Oncken's pupil followed the more systematic and sober type of worship and preaching, in harmony with the Nordic character of the people of Schleswig Holstein and Northern Germany. Johann Christian Kraemer, however, as leader of the 'coastal church' in East London, had a different background and temperament. His services lasted longer, were 'noisier' and bathed in much emotion. Perhaps there were extremes in both camps? Christian Friedrich Sandow was another prominent leader. It says much for the stirring and selfless character of the first pioneers and is a testimony of their love for the Lord and one another, that they kept and walked together, even when not seeing eye to eye on

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<sup>178</sup> J.F. Schwär, *Deutsche in Kaffraria*; Supplement to "Die Eiche" No 23, Pretoria: King Printing Co Ltd, King Williams Town, 1958., p. 10; J.F. Schwär and B.E. Pape, *Deutsche in Kaffraria. Germans in Kaffraria. Duitsers in Kaffraria, 1858 – 1859*, Pinetown: Robprint, 1958, p. 67.

<sup>179</sup> Alfred W. Burton, Scrapbook with press cuttings and reports about the German Churches in Kaffraria, from 1867- 1957, p. 25.

every subject and point of doctrine. They were, after all, untrained and plain theologians in farmers' garbs.<sup>180</sup>

This growth of the Baptist cause was possible because Oncken's principle of "Every Baptist a Missionary" was enthusiastically applied by Langhein, Schmidt and Sandow as well. All their converts became witnesses in turn, speaking about their faith, inviting people to the cottage meetings and praying with neighbours and visitors in any situation and need. They had no theological training, never sat for examinations nor attended lectures on theology. Driven by the indwelling Holy Spirit, they were compelled to simply pass on what they had experienced, and the results were remarkable. Those farmers were passionate preachers who knew what they were talking about and the Settlers confidently came with all their troubles and problems to them. Laymen and -women were the strength and life of this young church.

It became evident that help and guidance from Germany was badly needed. As early as 1862 they applied to Oncken for a properly trained and ordained minister. Carsten Langhein saw himself only as a stop-gap who would willingly pass on the torch when the professional runner arrived. Such was the vision and humility of this great man. When the membership approached 300, they became desperate and sent £34 to Hamburg for passage money with the most urgent request that getting a minister had become a matter of pressing necessity. Through their evangelical zeal the position had been reached that almost two thousand people or 50% of the German immigrants were under the care and influence of the Baptists, when one counts the children, next of kin, friends and neighbours who regularly attended their meetings. The other half was being catered for by the two Lutheran missionaries Dr A. Kropf of Bethel-Stutterheim and H. Liefeldt of Petersburg,

"who could not cope with all the work facing them in looking after the spiritual needs of their own Native flocks and those of the immigrants as well."

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<sup>180</sup> Gutsche's Diaries from 15 December 1867 until March 1868 and several church minutes during the same period give exact details and show his attempts to restore unity and harmony among the leaders. The new youthful and enthusiastic pastor largely succeeded.

"At Frankfurt, under the leadership of Carsten Langhein, an Anabaptist Movement arose ... A great number of Germans joined the Baptists who soon had members in every single settlement. This was clearly the result of their spiritual zeal and because suitable laymen were allowed to exercise functions which in most other churches are looked upon as being the prerogative of the clergy. The Baptists helped themselves, with resounding success. The absence of Lutheran pastors favoured Langhein's cause.<sup>181</sup>

Oncken responded with a letter in his own hand.<sup>182</sup>

Hamburg, 28th March 1865

"To the brethren Buschmann and Dorian; Precious Brethren! I received your cheque of £34 and have sent it to London for clearance.

"Finding an elder for you is not as easy as you seem to think, I must look around for a suitable man to fit the position and satisfy your requirements. Your task will be to pray earnestly for God to point out the right man and give him the liberty and enthusiasm to accept your call. On my part I promise to leave no stone unturned. When we have settled on a name, it will still take some time for him to come out, he can not leave just head over heels. We need a special man, to preach and lead the flock, to start schools and negotiate with the authorities, for this he must be proficient in the English language.

"Such people are few and far between, we can not produce them as a baker bakes his bread. The Lord will be honoured and pleased if we earnestly and continuously ask Him to supply your need.

"Your new pastor would also like to know what financial support he can expect. I would therefore suggest that the two of you, without delay, start a subscription list in which all members pledge a regular specific annual amount for the new minister, which should be paid in half-yearly, quarterly or even monthly instalments. Without such an orderly arrangement the position of an elder will become intolerable. Your future pastor will have to give all his time and energy to the spiritual welfare of his flock without having to worry where the next meal for his family will come from. This pledge list is, therefore, of

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<sup>181</sup> J.F. Schwär and B.E. Pape, *Deutsche in Kaffraria. Germans in Kaffraria. Duitsers in Kaffraria, 1858 – 1859*, Pinetown: Robprint, 1958, p. 66-67, 76.

<sup>182</sup> This is the English translation, for the German original see the Appendix.



the utmost importance. A man of God cannot give his best if the churches do not pay him well.

"I am sure, you are short of good books. You might have other needs. All members should use this opportunity to get from Germany what they desire. Get the requests on separate slips of paper, with the promise to pay for the goods. Then please furnish me with a complete list of items and keep the details with you in Frankfurt. Please tell me also the results of the stipend-pledges. Without this commitment we can not send anyone.

"This is all for the moment. - Here we have 27 brethren preparing for the ministry but I fear none of them are suitable for South Africa. Please tell me also what sort of clothing is best for your warmer climate. I take it heavy winter coats are surely unnecessary?

"Now, my dear brethren, we commit this whole matter into the loving and Almighty Hands of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is important for us to see the glory of our Lord God whom we serve. We are bought by His blood. May He make you willing to every sacrifice necessary to bring your plans to fruition. Greetings to you both and to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, immoveably, with much love, yours in Christ

(signed) J.G. Oncken."

When Carl Hugo and Mary Gutsche arrived in King Williams Town on 7 December 1867, Carsten Langhein was elated and the church most grateful, surprised and happy that Oncken had parted with his personal assistant and right-hand man to consolidate and guide the work toward maturity and fruitfulness. To them it was the next best thing to Oncken himself coming to Kaffraria.

Carsten Langhein enjoyed Gutsche's ministry for the next 15 years until he died, 73 years old, on the 1 October 1882 on his farm in Wiesbaden, the only place where he had lived for almost 25 years, since coming from Germany in 1858. The membership had doubled by then, from 300 to over 600. Gutsche buried him in the Baptist cemetery of Frankfurt, after a memorial service from his beloved chapel. In his honour they put a marble plaque behind the pulpit and a special wrought iron fence around his grave and tombstone with the words: *Hebrews 13:7 Remember your teachers which preached the Word to you. Isaiah 3:10 Tell the righteous: It will be well with them, for they will enjoy the fruits of their deeds.*

### **Chapter 3: His Lifework with the Whole of South Africa as his Parish (1867 - 1896)**

In 1950 (!) there were still three *very old* Kaffrarian Baptists alive who remembered that afternoon in 1867 when Carl Hugo and Mary Gutsche arrived in 'King,' the oldest Border town in the Cape Colony (founded 1835), and how the young couple felt confused and bewildered about the poverty of their people and frightened of the slimy snakes, wild dogs, leopards, porcupines, elephants and buffaloes which roamed along the rivers and in the Amatola Mountains. Baboons and apes came to the front door and rent the silence of the night.<sup>183</sup> So many visitors arrived the first few days to have a look at the new pastoral couple that the Gutschees couldn't do a thing for themselves, not even unpack their boxes. When they finally did, they found the three rooms "too small for (even) our unpacked luggage ... The bedstead box is metamorphosed in a close press etc."<sup>184</sup> The lean-to outbuilding was totally unsuitable; in the afternoon of 2 January 1868 he searched for alternative accommodation with Mr Donian. They moved into a bigger house on Wednesday 20 January 1868.

In fact, wherever they looked there was room for improvement and a dire need for systematic organising. He was badly needed as architect, justice of peace, marriage officer, educator, health advisor, as well as a designer of constitutions and rules for appointment of officers and *modus operandi* for all church business; none of it existed for his 300 members plus an additional 1000 people under the ministry and influence of the Baptists. Like his mentor Oncken in Germany 30 years earlier, Gutsche had come to lay the foundations for policy and rules, step by step, with the view of building an evangelical Free Church after the pattern of the New Testament. He dare not deviate from this Divine model of Baptist principles!

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<sup>183</sup> Period pictures (Plates I to LI) of King Williams Town and surrounding forests as well as vivid stories and descriptions from that time are contained in Dr Burton's Book "Sparks from the Border Anvil" (1950). It is an authentic photo record with well researched accounts of King and Kaffraria since frontierposts were established by the English and illustrates what Gutsche found upon arrival.

<sup>184</sup> Diary 13 Dec 1867.

## A Jubilant Welcome

Their second day was a Sunday when he preached his first African-German sermon in Braunschweig, about "The heart is a deceitful thing." In the afternoon he spoke at Breidbach on "Jesus wept" after which they had supper together. There was great jubilation for the time of waiting was finally over. Two years earlier Oscar Donian from Hannover had sent a poem to Oncken in Hamburg with the urgent request for the new minister to hurry up!

### "Zuruf aus Africa"

"Komm, lieber Bruder, eile!  
Wie sehnen uns nach Dir,  
Und tragen gross' Verlangen  
Um Dich zu sehen hier.  
Ja, dass Dich Jesus leite  
An Seiner Gnadenhand,  
Für Sein Werk Dich bereite  
Im afrikan'schen Land;

"Wo noch in Fleischeslüssen  
Dienen dem grossen Baal  
So viele Namenchristen  
Und Heiden ohne Zahl.<sup>185</sup>  
Da komm und hilf uns retten  
Aus Satans Gewalt,  
Die er in seinen Ketten  
So fest umschlungen hält.

"Ja, Tage schon und Jahre  
Hab'n wir gehofft auf Dich  
Schon ein'ge ruhn im Grabe,  
Die beteten für Dich.  
Dass Du mög'st glücklich landen  
Hier in dem fremden Land,

Hurry, brother, come in haste,  
How we long for you!  
How we long to see your face,  
Our love is true.  
He Himself will guide you  
With His loving hand  
And He will prepare you  
For this foreign land;

So many walk in darkness  
Without the Gospel light,  
The heathen do not know Him  
And are in deepest night!  
O come in Jesus' power  
And Satan has to flee  
So then their eyes will see the Lord  
And to him bow their knee.

Many days and many years  
Did we wait for you.  
Some in glory – after tears -  
Also prayed for you.  
May your journeying be blessed  
To this foreign land,

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<sup>185</sup> A most interesting line "Heiden ohne Zahl," telling Oncken in Hamburg that the prospective minister should be pastor to the settlers and missionary to the countless heathen!

Und knüpfen uns're Banden  
Recht fest an Jesu Hand!

"Ach, sähest Du die Leiden  
In uns'rer Mitte hier,  
Du würdest eil'n zu heilen  
Eh' wir vergehen hier.  
Sorg nicht für's irdisch Leben,  
Denn Jesus sorgt dafür;  
Du wirst schon reichlich nehmen  
Aus Seiner Fülle hier.

So that we may work and rest  
Safe in Jesus' hand.

If only you could feel with us  
The suffering we see<sup>186\*\*</sup>  
How you would long to help us  
And share His victory!  
We ask you not to worry  
The Lord knows what you need  
His grace is overflowing,  
He'll undertake indeed.

(verse 5 ...)

(verse 6 ...)

"So wollen wir nun beten  
Und ruhig dem vertrau'n  
Der uns aus allen Nöten  
Einst führen wird zum Schau'n.  
Er sieht ja unser Leiden!  
Der treue Heiland wird  
Schon senden uns zu weiden  
Den treuen frommen Hirt."

So we will wait in prayer  
And trust in Him alone.  
He will not disappoint us  
As we have often known.  
He sees our deepest longing  
We know that He will hear  
And send the one He's chosen;  
Dear brother, do not fear!

In inniger Liebe geweiht von Oscar Donian.<sup>187</sup>

On this their second day and first Sunday in Kaffraria they worshipped and thanked God for the safe arrival of the pastoral couple after almost five years of waiting. True to form, Oscar Donian recited his "Welcome Poem" especially made for the occasion:

"Kommt Brüder, lasst uns fallen  
Zu Jesu Kreuzesstamm,  
Ihm uns'ren Dank zu lallen,  
Dem blut'gen Schmerzensmann.

Come brothers let us worship  
And fall to Jesus' feet  
With joy and adoration,  
Who on the Cross did bleed.

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<sup>186</sup> Friction and factions threatened to destroy the infant movement which Langhein could no longer handle, a peacemaker was urgently needed. Oncken and Gutsche were aware of it.

<sup>187</sup> Dedicated with much love, Oscar Donlan; translated by Lisa Haus.

Ja, lasst uns heut' ergiessen  
Im ernsten Dank zu Ihm,  
Lasst Freudentränen fliessen,  
Dass dieser Tag erschien!

O let your tears flow freely  
And thank Him fervently;  
He answ' red all our prayers  
As we can clearly see.

(verse 2 ...)

"Ist es nicht Sein Erbarmen,  
Könn'n wir's nicht deutlich sehn,  
Dass er uns geistlich Armen  
Lässt solche Hilf' gescheh'n?  
Dass Er aus fremden Lande  
Den Bruder uns gesandt,  
Zu knüpfen uns're Bande  
Recht fest an Jesu' Hand.

His mercy is unending,  
His love is ever new  
Although we are so feeble  
And poor in spirit, too.  
He sent us His dear servant  
He came from foreign land  
That we might be united  
Through Jesus' loving hand.

(verse 4 ...)

(verse 5 ...)

"Und Du nun, teurer Bruder,  
Dem dieses Fest heut' gilt,  
Trag' mit uns schwachen Kindern  
Viel Langmut und Geduld.  
Zu deiner Seit' Gott möge  
Mit Rat und Tat Dir steh'n,  
Damit auf schmalem Wege  
Wir all' zum Himmel gehn!"

And you, our loving brother,  
We welcome you and say  
We need your understanding  
And patience day by day.  
We ask our Lord to guide you  
To help us from above,  
That we may walk together  
In patience and in love!<sup>188</sup>

(English translation by Lisa Haus)

### ***Getting acquainted***

During the second week they visited Berlin, Maclean Town and East London, with sermons and business meetings in every village. Altogether they covered over 250 km in ten days. Mr Moldenhauer of Berlin

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<sup>188</sup> Once more he acknowledged the urgent need of outside neutral arbitration from a man with spiritual authority and experience.

supplied horses and carriage. The media was present and printed the following notice:

"Rev Carl Hugo Gutsche preached two sermons in the Dutch Reformed Church at Maclean Town founded by a community of Dutch farmers in 1860 and named after Colonel John Maclean Lieutenant-Governor of British Kaffraria. He will preach next Sunday at Frankfort. There are about 400 Baptists among the Germans in British Kaffraria."<sup>189</sup>

They both took ill during the night so that the next day he "unpacked his medicine box."<sup>190</sup> From this second week onwards, reporters were never far away and keen to print regular reports in the "Watchman" on the movements and ministry of

"this new youthful Baptist pastor who was such a good horseman and a man of many parts including those of chemist and medical practitioner "<sup>191</sup>

The apprenticeship for this 'horseman skill' was rather painful. Early in January 1868 Oscar Donian presented him with two horses. On Sunday 5 January 1868 he left for Berlin early in the morning at 5 o'clock, the first time on horseback and remarks the next day "I was the whole day very tired from my riding." Early next Friday Mary had her first try on a horse as they together rode to Breidbach. Sunday morning following he rose at 4 o'clock, took the horses to the water, when one escaped, but they still managed to leave together at 7.00 in time for the services at Braunschweig.<sup>192</sup>

The Dutch farming community of Maclean Town was very kind and compassionate towards the German immigrants, in fact, quite ecumenical in their attitude and outlook, which was ahead of the time. Gutsche and his congregation were amazed. Back home they had been treated as heretics and infidels by Lutherans, Reformed and Roman Catholics alike, with much persecution. Here some Dutch farmers even

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<sup>189</sup> *Kaffrarian Watchman*, 19.12.1867.

<sup>190</sup> Diary 16/17.12.1867.

<sup>191</sup> Alfred Burton, Scrapbook with press cuttings and reports about the German Churches in Kaffraria, from 1867- 1957, p. 31.

<sup>192</sup> Diary 6 & 12 Jan 1868.

employed several 'down and out' settlers as farmhands thereby keeping them from starving. Dr A.W. Burton observes:

"As an example of fraternal cooperation between the churches in 1864 the Dutch Reformed Church, Macleantown, loaned £900 to the Presbyterians of King Williams Town for the building of their first Presbyterian Church in King Williams Town—the building which is now Rose-Innes's Auction Rooms in Alexandra Road, and from which the Presbyterians moved into St Andrews' Church in 1883."<sup>193</sup>

During his second week the warring Baptist factions in Frankfurt, East London and Braunschweig made peace. Actually, already on his fourth day in King Williams Town "from 9<sup>30</sup> to 8<sup>00</sup> in the evening we had a meeting on account of the combining of the church parties in my house. Mallet was there."<sup>194</sup> After these preliminary talks

"a very stormy meeting followed in Braunschweig which broke my heart and will ... Mary had a fit of cramps, we must return home, I watched her the whole day ... The afternoon I had to weep over my sin against God and Mary."<sup>195</sup>

No wonder that nerves frayed and tempers flared up. The physical exhaustion of five weeks travel, staying in strange and sometimes unhygienic homes of primitive surroundings, with Gutsche having to be alert, taking angry rebuffs and insults when trying to make peace, took their toll on them both. This required superhuman or Divine strength which his *horses* did not always possess: He "had to rest for the horses' sake, they would not go up the Dohne hill."<sup>196</sup> Did he make a mistake in coming? Is it all worthwhile? Only secret and long intensive prayer times strengthened and helped him.<sup>197</sup> That day "Mary rode home alone, was caught by a very heavy thunderstorm and got a fit."<sup>198</sup> Which shows at least three things:

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<sup>193</sup> Alfred Burton, Scrapbook with press cuttings and reports about the German Churches in Kaffraria, from 1867- 1957, p. 13.

<sup>194</sup> Diary 11 Dec 1867.

<sup>195</sup> Diary 9, 12, 17 Jan 1868.

<sup>196</sup> Diary 24 Jan 1868.

<sup>197</sup> 26 Jan 1868 Frankfurt.

<sup>198</sup> 26.1.1868.

1. They started their first year's ministry in the new country with much rejoicing and weeping;
2. They did not give up easily, and
3. They were sensitive to their own need of daily repentance, forgiveness and fresh empowerment by the Holy Spirit. To be effective in their peace and pioneer mission, they had to keep daily prayer communication with God alive.

Upon his arrival he found three distinct 'parties' around the leaders Langhein, Kraemer and Sandow. Both poems by Oscar Donian refer to the strife and suffering of the flock. August Peinke mentions the same problem he had with the Baptists before Gutsche came:

"The early Baptists did not have a trained preacher, but every eloquent Baptist had gathered a little troop around him. These little bands were diminished with the appearance of yet other orators. This proves the importance of a trained, guiding and organising hand in a religious movement, otherwise there is danger of harming its growth. It was my soul too which was injured by this dismemberment. Therefore decided to withdraw ... Just then a rumour reached my ear that a Baptist preacher was coming out from Germany to organise and control the work. It was our brother Gutsche senior."<sup>199</sup>

It was high time that a fully qualified leader from Germany, with authority, would take the lead and bring unity and peace. The business meeting at Breidbach addressed these issues: Sandow was sometimes reputed to drink too much; Schmidt was not prepared to have fellowship with Sandow and was therefore judged to be unfit for leadership; Sandow complained that Schmidt's supporters now had joined the Langhein party; Carl Pape alleged that Schmidt did not keep the Sabbath holy and the Sandows were not properly and legally married etc etc.<sup>200</sup> But now they confessed, buried their anger, forgave and shook hands in reconciliation.

Almost every day the Gutschees, from the start, were somewhere else. His diary entry of 10 December 1867 shows 14 place names where his members lived: Stutterheim - Frankfurt – Hannover - Braunschweig -

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<sup>199</sup> Supplement #1.

<sup>200</sup> Diary Dec 1867 & Jan 1868 and supplementary notes.



Breidbach - Berlin - Macleantown - Panmure - King Williams Town - Aliwal - Potsdam - Cradock - Bodiam - Fort Murray.

During the first four weeks they were hardly at home and the diary entries reveal how they visited all the above places with the exception of the distant towns of Cradock and Aliwal. The first nine business meetings have an agenda of 85 items, such as proper cashbooks, official name, seal and stamps, building sites, day schools, choirs, Sunday schools, Mission meetings, fishing on Sundays, drunkenness, perjury, dancing and court cases. The final point on the agenda reads "Wegen meinem Gehalt" (about my wages). His stipend was fixed at £150 per annum, with no allowance for house, horses, cart or travelling expenses, and remained at that level for 30 years (no annual inflation rate and increment of 10% as at the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century!). Every quarter Carsten Langhein collected for the minister at Frankfurt, Homann and Grunewald were responsible for the Stutterheim area, Moldenhauer and Pahl covered Berlin; and Kreusch, Warren, Lehmann and Sandow accepted subscriptions from Panmure, Hannover and Braunschweig. His 'wages' were not always fully paid, sometimes they arrived late, and some farmers could only pay him in kind. In addition to the 'Preacher's Fund' they operated separate Missionary-, Tract- and Benevolent Funds.<sup>201</sup>

For the weekend of 21/22 December 1867 a vital conference was convened at Frankfurt when Gutsche wanted to meet all his 300 members plus adherents and friends. Nobody knew that this weekend before Christmas would become another historic red letter day for the whole Baptist cause in South Africa, in more than one sense; for the second last item of the agenda in Gutsche's diary reads "Prüfung des Odendaal" (Examination of Odendaal). It is the story of the 'Ethiopian Treasurer' in Acts 8 all over again: Gutsche travelled 12,000 km and Odendaal 350, for them to meet without prior appointment at Frankfurt at this particular moment. God's timing had been perfect!

Jacobus Daniel Odendaal was born on the 5 May 1838 (three years before Gutsche) in the Swellendam District of the Cape. His widowed mother sent him to Stellenbosch to study theology with the view of him

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<sup>201</sup> Collectors' booklets, financial journals and cash books from March 1868- give quarterly income and expenditure figures, properly approved and audited.

becoming a Dutch Reformed Dominee. But Odendaal left the Kweekskool (some call it "The Angels Factory") in his first year because he could not agree with the practice of infant baptism. His family was dismayed but could not persuade him to return. Instead he left the Cape for Burghersdorp in the North Eastern Cape to take up farming. Of course, he immediately ran into trouble with the church leaders when his views became known; they eventually expelled him from the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of Burghersdorp.<sup>202</sup>

One evening a travelling horse dealer stopped at his farm and stayed for the night. During evening devotions in the kitchen the salesman asked Odendaal "Are you a Baptist?" "No." "But you talk, pray and act just like the German Baptist immigrants around King Williams Town." This was ointment to the weary soul of Odendaal who longed for peace, instruction and fellowship. He left by cart a few days later for the 350 km journey south to find those people. He knew nothing of a Frankfurt Baptist Church nor that a certain Hugo Gutsche was on his way from Germany to meet him there. Odendaal stopped at Cathcart under a thornbush to rest his horse. Two passing Stutterheim Baptists saw him reading his Bible and got excited to find a fellow believer at the roadside in deep meditation.<sup>203</sup>

They drew near, shook hands and learned of his quest for truth and baptism, had some fellowship and prayer and then directed him to Radloff's mill in Stutterheim where he would be well looked after. There he lodged with W.A. Grunewald, who immediately sent for Langhein and Sandow from Frankfurt. Occasionally the Stutterheim people had been with some English Baptists, but it amazed them that from the Boer farmers someone like Odendaal should be in perfect tune and harmony with them in all matters of doctrine and worship. Early on Sunday 22 December 1867 they took him to meet the new pastor who baptized him that same afternoon. Below the church runs the small Yellowwood-Dongquaba River where cattle, horses and sheep watered and Natives fetched their drinking water. At the bend they had made a little pool and

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<sup>202</sup> J.D. Odendaal, *So Het God ons Skredes Gelei. Die Ontstaan en Groei van die Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk 1867 -1977*, Kempton Park: Baptistepublikasies, 1982, p. 13.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

used that spot for all baptismal services over the next 110 years, starting with Langhein and ending in 1975 when the Frankfurt church was closed down.

Carl Hugo Gutsche baptized hundreds of converts in South Africa, over a period of sixty years, but the very first one, on his first big Sunday, was not a German but an Afrikaaner! He came to minister to the Germans, but his first sermon was preached in Grahamstown Tuesday night 3rd December in English in the English Church of Rev Alexander Hay!<sup>204</sup>

It was commonly believed that Jacobus Daniel Odendaal was the first Afrikaaner to leave the NGK to receive believer's baptism.<sup>205</sup> This is wrong. Odendaal 1982:311 in his footnote relates how the Riversdale Kerkraadsnotule of 25 Sept 1864 reports on a certain member, Frederik Charles Purchase, who was baptized and joined the "Wederdopers."<sup>206</sup>

A lifelong friendship started that day between the two: Odendaal went back to Sugarloaf (later to be renamed Witkop and today known as Cornelia Free State). By his witness and preaching he gained a few dozen converts with whom he founded the First Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk in South Africa. He was ordained (on behalf of Gutsche) by Pastor Riemer of Berlin, who spoke Afrikaans, and became a most faithful minister among his own people. Until after the First World War they belonged to the German Baptist Bund. For over a century members of the Baptiste Kerk and descendants of Odendaal made pilgrimages to the Yellowwood River

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<sup>204</sup> J.D. Odendaal, *So Het God ons Skredes Gelei. Die Ontstaan en Groei van die Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk 1867 -1977*, Kemton Park: Baptistepublikasies 1982, p. 14 and Gutsche diary 22 Dec 67.

<sup>205</sup> J.A. Hendricks (nd), *Hugo Gutsche, a Biographical sketch*. 8 pages issued by the South African Baptist Historical Society, p. 6.

<sup>206</sup> I have in my possession a photocopy of the manuscript "The Schoch Papers" (131 pages) about the whole movement, original of which is in the University of Witwatersrand archives, Da2. It gives an interesting account about the hyper-enthusiastic but short-lived group that practised believers' baptism.

pool in memory of the founder's epic journey in 1867 and gave thanks to God.<sup>207</sup>

The Gutsches surveyed the land and within eight weeks they knew where and how their 283 members lived. No hamlet or farm escaped a visit, Lutherans received a friendly call as well:

"At Dohne we had a very lively church meeting on account of the 'You' or 'Sie' in the speech [Gutsche stated that he did not mind whether he was addressed with Du or Sie, there was no biblical instruction in this matter but some wanted the "Sie" to be banned among members]. I then visited the (Lutheran) missionaries on the Station Bethel."<sup>208</sup>

The humble huts were always open for the pastoral couple. They often spent the nights away from home. Most trips were done on horseback. They spent hours and days in the saddle. Where an ox wagon had made a spoor, they called it a 'road'; where two vehicles had rolled along it was considered a trunk road. Paved and gravelled surfaces were introduced a decade or two later. Baboons, apes and porcupines abounded; wild dogs killed the sheep of farmers; leopards attacked calves and poultry at night, buffaloes and elephants were ever present, especially in the mountains around Frankfurt, Stutterheim and Keiskama 'Hoek.<sup>209</sup> They were a brave young couple and faced all this without complaint. Soon he acquired a cart to make it easier for his Mary to accompany him, for after about nine months she fell pregnant and prepared for their first son Hugo Gutsche jnr to be born on 18 July 1869.

In January 1868 we find a crowded itinerary in his handwritten diary:

"Friday and Saturday night Bible Studies from 8 pm to 1 am, with two sermons during the day in Frankfurt. On Sunday 2 messages in Hannover. Monday sermon and church meeting Dohne/Stutterheim

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<sup>207</sup> South African Baptist Magazine Febr 1969:12; Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, p. 27; Minutes, Bund Konferenz March 1903)

<sup>208</sup> Diary and Church minutes 25 Jan 1868.

<sup>209</sup> Alfred W. Burton, *Sparks from the Border Anvil*, Provincial Publishing Co, King Williams Town, 1950 supplies with his 81 photographic plates wonderful illustrations of some of the flora and fauna at the time of Gutsche's arrival.

until midnight, to be continued on Tuesday morning at 7<sup>00</sup> with a second business meeting, sermon and baptism in the Kubusie river, followed by Holy Communion.

Wednesday afternoon we find him at Breidbach for a church meeting and that night in King Williams Town for the evening service. Thursday morning he makes his way to Fort Murray and then spends the weekend until Monday midnight at the sea station Bodiam/Hamburg near Keiskama Mouth. Two sermons and two business meetings were held. Wednesday morning at 2<sup>30</sup> he rides homeward. Most journeys home were undertaken during the night, a tremendous drain on body and spirit. Some years later he fell from his horse outside Bodiam (overcome by sleep?) and took more than three months to recover.

Even though he had not a single member living in King Williams Town, he started services on Wednesday 22 January 1868 and "preached the evening the first time in town on: the 3 raised" (Diary); was it about the raising of Lazarus and the widow's son at Nain, and the resurrection of our Lord at Easter? We know that by then he had a servant for his horses, stable and garden and Mary employed a help for house and kitchen. These 'kaffirs and their friends' (sic) were his first congregation in King. Thus, at the very first opportunity, he started 'mission work,' at the same time supplying useful employment for the surrounding Blacks.

The Wednesday services at King became a regular feature. From the second or third week onwards, some white friends and members from nearby joined them thereby becoming a multi-cultural and multi-racial gathering. Even when he moved to the larger house a week later, he held his second Town meeting the same evening on "Giving Thanks always."<sup>210</sup>

His Burial Book reveals that the first sixteen funerals over the first eighteen months were of babies and children until Carl Golz died in June 1869 at the age of 51 from kidney, bladder and related dysuria troubles. Eleven months' old Karl Herse from Braunschweig was buried on his parents' farm. David Schröder, 19 months, was the first to be entombed at the Frankfurt Baptist Cemetery, Block B Row 1, Number 1. Matthias Kitzinger and baby Berndt were 4 and 7 days old and put into lot 2 and 3. After each deceased's name he recorded in his big Funeral Book the

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<sup>210</sup> Diary 29 Jan 1868.

cause of death, which reflects his pharmaceutical training and medical knowledge. Doctors were few and far between and often arrived too late if they came at all; Hugo Gutsche took their place in emergencies. Actually, it was common knowledge among the Settlers that Gutsche was often better than the doctors. This is, however, relative. He was certainly cheaper and more readily available. He was also conversant in German; many settlers initially could not understand much English and felt lost when trying to communicate with English doctors. Gutsche even dispensed all the necessary medicine in bottles and paper bags and knew the right remedies. People collected empty bottles for him; he paid a penny for a good one. Mary Gutsche soon found out that some patients returned and begged her for a penny each for the containers they had previously received from her husband free of charge! She sent them away in disgust and with a stern admonition to be ashamed of themselves! They never came when he was at home for he would not suffer fools lightly.

Several babies were stillborn, sometimes the mothers died with them. Wilhelmine Fischer was kicked by a horse and fatally wounded. Christian Krug (3) swallowed a mealie pip which stuck, germinated and swelled in his airpipe thereby suffocating the child. Anna Ditterner, aged 3, burned to death on the farm. Louis Hessel died in the Isidenge bush after an attack by Natives. Several children were burned or drowned in dams, rivers or water tanks and some died on the way to the doctor. Friedrich Christian Homann (7) was killed when a cart at speed overturned and squashed him underneath. Hermann Lindemann was minding his father's sheep behind the house when young Xhosa boys murdered him on 1 December 1878. Several died of Tuberculosis. During the first ten years Hugo Gutsche registered 248 baptisms in rivers and dams, conducted 200 funerals and recorded 841 births (Jan 1868 to Jan 1878).<sup>211</sup>

When German traders and farmers moved to the Transkei, Queenstown and Cradock, the distances to be covered increased considerably. The question arose "Are those journeys necessary and worthwhile?" Gutsche

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<sup>211</sup> These figures are gleaned from his five big books: Membership - Funerals - Births - Marriages - and Baptisms, in which everything is recorded with meticulous care and detail. These are the most reliable documents available to any who want to study their family tree or seek information on social and historical aspects of Kaffraria during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

replied that they had 27 people in the Queenstown service, only 5 of them were members. They want me to come once a quarter; next time our Transkei families will also travel to Queenstown and join us." However, this problem was solved when English Baptist churches were started in Queenstown and Cradock; then the German members joined them in worship<sup>212</sup>.

"The church is against brother Gutsche's journey to Cradock, unless a young man goes with him. Because no one is at hand, brother Franz volunteers on the condition that he is paid 5/- a day and supplied with a horse. W. Sell asks for 8/sh a day inclusive horse and cart. An agreement is reached with brother Sell to pay him 6/sh a day (which charge he later donated to the Sunday School). The return trip took 12 days."<sup>213</sup>

He had a tremendous turn-over of horses. Within 14 years he bought 5 carts and many saddles and horses. His quarterly fodder allowance was increased from 15<sup>sh</sup> to 17<sup>sh</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> in Keiskama Hoek and was only approved by 55% of the members after a weary debate.<sup>214</sup> One remark speaks for many in like vein:

"Most of us have to walk, because we are so poor. We brought nothing into this country and when the Lord takes away the little we have, why complain? Doesn't Exodus 22:10-11 say "If an ox or ass or any beast die ... his neighbour need not pay" which means we don't have to compensate Mr Gutsche for his lost horses. It's just too bad about the minister's two horses who got sick and died; it's his own problem, why bother us?"<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Church Minutes 28 June/27 Sept 1884, pp. 359 & 372.

<sup>213</sup> Minutes 1881:148 & 158.

<sup>214</sup> Church Minutes 18 Dec 1881:142.

<sup>215</sup> Church Minutes 27 June 1879:54. – They had to be shot on the way from Kei Road to Kwelegha; what was worse nobody had the courage to accompany him as outside Macleantown a smithery was discovered where Xhosa forged swords and assagais. Nearby, Captain C. Kruis' home had been burnt down. Gutsche proposed to trust God, rode on alone and served the Kwelegha congregation as usual; a grateful farmer brought him back to King. His Frankfurt members reprimanded him that "man must not tempt God." Frankfurt Church Minutes 28 Nov 1880:136, 142.

However, eventually they collected an amount of £24.13<sup>sh</sup> for a splendid pair of new horses.<sup>216</sup> They also surprised Mary Gutsche with a gift because "for the past thirteen years she has successfully trained us in music and singing; and while her husband was away from March to May 1880 she visited us to give moral and practical support."<sup>217</sup>

## **A Huge and Vital Building Programme**

Gutsche certainly holds the record among Baptist ministers by building 21 churches in 30 years. He adhered to the principle not to consecrate a single place of worship until it had been paid for fully! Within 4 weeks after his arrival he had several building committees and work parties organized to burn bricks, cart stones and cut timber. Twenty square metre of timber were procured for Frankfurt and 16 set aside for Breidbach, to be used for floors, roofs, windows, doors and fences. The Frankfurt cemetery was fenced early in 1868. The members gathered firewood in the rivers, veld and forests for the burning of bricks. Several church plots were donated but sometimes it was quicker and better to simply buy a particular site in the exact spot where the next church should be located:

Braunschweig: Lots A, 1, 2 & 7; Capelle (Chapel) of the Baptist congregation of Breitb[ach], a place of public divine worship with full power & authority henceforth to possess the same in perpetuity, but without permission to alienate or dispose of the same" [sic.]<sup>218</sup>

Panmure: A piece of land, being 12 acres Lot No 46, situated in the vicinity of Panmure (District East London), originally granted to Lentz who returned it to the authorities in exchange for land at Frankfurt.

Berlin: Plots 116,117,132 and 133, between Caplains place and station, originally set aside as sites for German immigrants, now allocated 1 acre for church and 1 acre for cemetery.

Stutterheim: Lot G 6, 7 & O 1, 2, 8.<sup>219</sup>

Gutsche reported in February 1868

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<sup>216</sup> Church Minutes 24 Sept 1881:101.

<sup>217</sup> Church Minutes 25 Sept 1880:126.

<sup>218</sup> Diary 18.12.1867.

<sup>219</sup> Church Meetings 20/12.1867, 1 & 2 Jan 1868.



"that seven more applications had been submitted for Baptist chapels to be build (sic) and the Government had agreed to clear and plough the sites at 1/6d per acre; contracts, deeds of sale and documents had been drawn up and signed."

The Frankfurt foundation stone was laid in June 1868 and the first Kaffrarian German Baptist Church opened four months later on 8 November 1868. It was the third Baptist Church in the country, with Grahamstown the oldest (English 1820), and Port Elizabeth second (English 1854). There was not yet a constituted Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk in South Africa, but J.D. Odendaal was sowing the seed at Sugarloaf and was working towards it.<sup>220</sup>

Grahamstown donated £1.6sh., Odendaal from Sugarloaf posted £2., Mrs Temlett from Alice grew vegetables, flowers and cauliflower seed for Frankfurt and donated £5. A sale of works was held at Hannover in April 1868 for the Building Fund. The women of Berlin sold needlework and cotton dresses. Several donations were received from Germany.<sup>221</sup>

This first church did not last: A violent thunderstorm with gale force winds blew the corrugated roof sheets into the river. All walls collapsed and windows and doors were scattered and made useless. It took eight years till the bigger and more substantial Frankfurt church was dedicated on 17.12.1876, still standing today.<sup>222</sup>

Here is the complete list of the 21 German churches in 30 years:

|                      |       |      |                       |      |      |
|----------------------|-------|------|-----------------------|------|------|
| Frankfurt Bethel     | Nov   | 1868 | King W T Bethany      | Aug  | 1877 |
| Hannover Ebenezer    | March | 1869 | Stutterheim Bethlehem | Oct  | 1880 |
| Breidbach Bethesda   | July  | 1869 | Keiskama Hoek II      | Feb  | 1883 |
| TehaboXhosa no name  | July  | 1870 | East London Elim      | Jan  | 1886 |
| Panmure (EL) Zoar    | March | 1871 | Kwelegha Morijah      | July | 1888 |
| Keiskama Hoek Gilead | Oct   | 1872 | Berlin II             | Feb  | 1889 |
| Bodiam Pniel         | July  | 1873 | East London Zoar/Elim | Aug  | 1897 |

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<sup>220</sup> Sydney Hudson-Reed, *By Taking Heed. The History of Baptists in Southern Africa*, Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House, 1983, pp. 15 & 21.

<sup>221</sup> Details in Account Journals 1869, June to October.

<sup>222</sup> Fritz Schwarz, *75 Jahre Baptistengemeinde Frankfurt 1861/1936*. Windhoek: John Meinert, 1936, p. 33-34.

|                   |       |      |                          |      |      |
|-------------------|-------|------|--------------------------|------|------|
| Macleantown Salem | Decem | 1874 | Johburg Mayfair Gethsema | Aug  | 1897 |
| Bodiam II Pniel   | Aug   | 1876 | Fort White Hebron        | July | 1899 |
| Frankfurt II      | Decem | 1876 | King W T Emmanuel        | Oct  | 1899 |
| Berlin Zion       | Jan   | 1877 |                          |      |      |

The glossy art poster for the Jubilee celebrations 1861-1911 has the photos of 11 ministers, 12 churches and 4 manses.<sup>223</sup>

When the second "Zion" chapel in Berlin was constructed,

"the senior deacon E. Moldenhauer fell from the roof and died instantly on 25 Oct 1888.<sup>224</sup> Brother Salzwedel senior went down with him and became a life-long cripple and invalid. Our member G. Gutzeit was gored by an angry bull and died several days later. Family Karl Uterhardt lost everything when their house and all barns burnt to the ground; they saved their naked lives. - On top of it at every street corner and shop they shout GOLD! GOLD! GOLD! Quite a few of our people have left for the youngest yet already biggest city in South Africa - Johannesburg. We are quite depleted and much poorer."<sup>225</sup>

The steady progress of Gutsche and his churches did not go unnoticed; they received excellent publicity. Here are just two examples of many: The 'Kaffrarian Watchman' of King Williams Town printed the following accounts; in July 1868:

"The German Baptists will build three chapels during the present winter season, at Hannover, Frankfurt and Breidbach. These will be erected principally by the people themselves who are numerous in the vicinity of the villages mentioned. Mr Gutsche can boast of 400 members and since his arrival in the country a spirit of unanimity has prevailed. Liberal collections have been made in some of the villages in aid of the distressed in some parts of Prussia now affected by the famine."

On 28 March 1869 the "Watchman" had this to say about the opening of the Hannover chapel (the second sanctuary after Frankfurt):

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<sup>223</sup> The church buildings up to 1883 are listed in 'Protokoll von Konferenzen und Gemeinde Stunden' 1883:18; the additional 7 are found in Hendricks nd, p. 5.

<sup>224</sup> Gutsche Diary.

<sup>225</sup> Berlin Church & Executive reports March 1889 Bund Konferenz pp 19 & 25.

"Solemn Opening Services were held on Saturday and Sunday. Visitors came from Panmure, Potsdam, Bodiam, Izeli, Berlin, Macleantown etc. Over 500 Baptists were present. The Hannover people slaughtered 20 sheep for feasting. On Sunday afternoon the ordinance of baptism was administered to four persons in the Yellowwood River. The people sang a hymn as they marched from the village to the River, the banks of which were lined with spectators, and the view, altogether, was picturesque. The Rev Gutsche, before celebrating the rite delivered a powerful address on the subject of believer's baptism. Four weeks ago, seven persons were baptized in the Keiskama River, soldiers and natives witnessing the ceremony. – As soon as funds permit, another minister will be sent from Germany to assist the Rev H. Gutsche who has about 15 stations under his charge."

Although the German Settlers were poor, they tackled this huge building programme with confidence and resourcefulness. They used their own artisans and engaged no contractors. However, their vision was far wider than their own immediate horizon: Since Gutsche's arrival they sent gifts "across the waters" but received much more in return!

Carsten Langhein dispatched 750 Mark to his home church in Tangstedt toward a new and bigger sanctuary.<sup>226</sup> Before Christmas 1878 they collected for the banished exiles in Siberia/Russia. Regular donations went to the Oncken Baptist College in Hamburg. In April 1879 Frankfurt helped needy widows of the Natal Zulu War with the amount of £4 3s 6d which was gratefully acknowledged by Captain Gordon (the military chaplain) in the King newspaper. G. Meier of Berlin sent money for the new chapel in Prenzlau to Germany in June 1879. However, the appeal for funds from the British and Foreign Bible Society was ignored. They had incurred a serious deficit in 1878 at the Paris World Fair by freely handing out Bibles and Scripture portions to every visitor at the entrance gate. The Frankfurt minute states:

"God cannot bless people who in the most irresponsible manner go into debt even if it involves the propagation of the Holy Word of God."<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> A receipt dated 28 12 1868 is attached to the Frankfurt financial statement.

<sup>227</sup> Frankfurt Minutes April 1878.

It took Gutsche about three months to visit each centre where his people met and worshipped during the week and on Sundays. In the beginning Frankfurt was the only "Church" to which all members belonged and the meeting places were called "Stations" (or branch churches without a resident full-time pastor), where Divine services were conducted every Lord's Day, mostly by the local deacons and lay readers. Spurgeon's sermons (published by Oncken in excellent German translations) were high on the list and became next to the Bible the best known books among the Baptists in Kaffraria. Visiting preachers were well advised to leave Spurgeon alone, any points or parts from his sermons would be recognized immediately! This system was highly effective and contributed to the phenomenal growth of the Baptists. In the friendly informal atmosphere of cottage meetings "prayers from the heart" and devotional Bible studies met the need of the Settlers for guidance and encouragement and were in sharp contrast to the formal orthodoxy and liturgical exercises and rites of the Lutheran Church. Furthermore, the Lutheran laymen normally did not speak about their faith. If urgent prayer or advice was needed, their pastor was the only competent 'expert' for consultation. Usually troubled people had to travel to town for an audience with him. It was much easier to speak to the ordinary Baptist member or lay preacher next door. Lutheran Pastor Schwär points out that the spiritual care of the immigrants by the two missionaries Liefeldt and Rev Dr Kropf was totally inadequate and were the main reason why the Baptists made such inroads and gathered a large following.<sup>228</sup>

When the Gutsche finally arrived at a certain 'station,' more often than not new converts had been won and could be examined and baptized by him. Hugo Gutsche travelled from place to place according to his carefully worked out preaching plan. The weekends with him were called "Big Church" with communion, baptism, business meetings and anything else of importance. Once a quarter a Conference was being scheduled to which every station had to send several delegates. These conferences stretched over the whole weekend and usually included a "Liebesmahl" (Love Feast) which became another major factor of growth, spiritual experiences, conversions and expression of unity for almost a century.

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<sup>228</sup> J.F. Schwär, *Deutsche in Kaffraria*; Supplement to "Die Eiche" No 23, Pretoria: King Printing Co Ltd, King Williams Town, 1958, p. 10.

The first 'Liebesmahl' with Gutsche was celebrated over Christmas 1867 at Breidbach. It consisted of speeches, evangelistic appeals, testimonies, choir items, musical recitals, meals and coffee breaks where the whole church sat together in happy fellowship around the tables, sometimes right through the night because travelling after dark was too dangerous.

It took all the diplomacy and authority of Hugo Gutsche to get the churches to agree to his domicile in King Williams Town, where only two members lived (he and his wife). But Gutsche finally won the argument for the "Town" after long debates and heated discussions, by a narrow vote of 49 for King and 37 for Frankfurt. Other requests for Breidbach, Braunschweig und Berlin had been eliminated in the first round.

**Helpers Urgently Needed: Peter Riemer and Martin Schmidt**

Within the first six years the membership under Gutsche's ministry rose from 283 to 461 and the need for nited

an assistant became urgent. The Rev Peter Riemer joined him in 1874, coming from the United States of America.<sup>229</sup> They worked hand in hand for four years and then divided the parish into a First (King) and Second Church (Berlin) in 1878, but Berlin objected to this relegation and accepted the official designation "Die deutsche Gemeinde getaufter Christen zu Berlin" (The German Church of Baptized Christians at Berlin):

**British Kaffraria** organized itself into the *town* Church King Williams Town with 190 members and 8 preaching places; and into the *country* Church of Berlin with the resident minister Peter Riemer and 217 members with 11 branches, namely

|                           |    |               |    |
|---------------------------|----|---------------|----|
| <b>King Williams Town</b> | 64 | <b>Berlin</b> | 50 |
| Frankfurt                 | 37 | Panmure       | 44 |
| Breidbach                 | 19 | Keiskama Hoek | 40 |
| Hannover                  | 24 | Stutterheim   | 26 |

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<sup>229</sup> Erich Fleischmann, *75 Years German Baptist Church East London*, East London: Griffith-Standard, 1939, pp. 5-18.

|                                                |     |             |     |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|-------------|-----|
| Braunschweig                                   | 23  | Bodiam      | 28  |
| Cradock                                        | 8   | Potsdam     | 2   |
| Scattered                                      | 15  | Tshabo      | 4   |
|                                                |     | Scattered   | 7   |
|                                                |     | Fort Murray | 16  |
| (Figures from the<br>Statistical Returns 1879) | 190 |             | 217 |

The Sunday School at King Williams Town had 87 children with 7 teachers, Frankfurt 9 children with 1 teacher and Hannover 18 children and 3 teachers. - The Afrikaans Church at Sugarloaf in the Free State came under the care of Rev Peter Riemer, one of the reasons being that he understood and spoke Afrikaans as well as German and English. It also gave Gutsche the urgently needed additional time for his manifold administrative, school and Baptist Union duties. The division into two congregations took place in a spirit of brotherly love and co-operation. As early as March 1882 a third sub-division was suggested but violently opposed by Frankfurt. The suggestion was to keep King Williams Town and Breidbach together under Hugo Gutsche and to call a new minister from Germany for Frankfurt, Stutterheim, Braunschweig und Hannover. Hugo Gutsche encouraged the people:

"Do not stand still, but move on. The God of the ages is still alive; it is lack of faith to worry about the finances for a third minister. The money will be there when needed."

But Frankfurt objected:

"Money is in short supply; business is slack and unemployment figures unusually high; several members moved into the country from the villages where the cost of living is lower."<sup>230</sup>

Many weary and difficult meetings and conferences followed over the next eight years. Feelings were hurt and families divided on the issue of a third pastor.

"Don't be trapped into calling another minister from Germany. Brother Gutsche can stay where he is. We can invite Mr Riemer from

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<sup>230</sup> Minutes 25.3.1882 & 16.4.1882.

Berlin [He was from America] to preach to us, even if he could come only once a month. And if he cannot come on a Sunday, we will gladly welcome him any other day of the week. - The European blood is so warm and hot and wants to rule, but the Americans are meek and patient and serve well; the German bellows like an ox and bawls like a donkey.<sup>231</sup>

They were insulting "Vater" (Father) Gutsche as he by now was being called by everyone including the town's people outside his congregation, Lutherans, Government and other official places. The meetings in Frankfurt turned out to be worse than the behaviour of drunks in the bars of hotels. Mr Gutsche was being harassed like a doe and given vinegar with gall to drink.<sup>232</sup>

This was a dark period of dissention and strife for the Church as well as for the founder of the work, Carsten Langhein. He had been seriously ill and weak for three months and died on 1 October 1882 in the midst of all these troubles. It was generally felt to be a great shame and pity that he should, as his last memory on earth, take with him the bitterness and sadness of a warring faction of his mother church against their minister Vater Gutsche.

And so the most curious and awkward situation arose in that the mother-church Frankfurt was excommunicated in June 1882 by her daughters and belonged no longer to the 'Bund'. Things had gone too far and it was sincerely regretted that the innocent ones had to suffer with the guilty. Mr John Benkenstein (one of the chief agitators) took over the Frankfurt Station, even applied for a marriage licence which, however, was turned down by the Government. For three years Frankfurt was in the wilderness until, on the 3 April 1885, she was re-admitted into fellowship and the breach finally healed when Johann Benkenstein apologized and returned in 1886. Frankfurt's attitude was parochially narrow and indefensible, whereas Gutsche, Riemer and others had the wider vision and saw the desperate need for expansion and development, especially around King Williams Town, for at least three reasons:

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<sup>231</sup> Bund Konferenz Minutes 1882:220,234.

<sup>232</sup> Bund Konferenz Minutes 1885:6a,6b & 1887:4a.

1) The Rev F Wynn had arrived in King Williams Town to establish an English Baptist Church in Taylor Street on the 25 March 1882. During the first weeks of their pioneering work they held their services in the Bethany chapel of the German sister congregation but moved to the Oddfellows Hall in January 1883 using Gutsche's chapel only for baptismal services during weeknights. It seemed urgent and imperative therefore to intensify the efforts of the German churches in and around King Williams Town, for the young people of the (Lutheran and Baptist) Churches clearly preferred English preaching to German lay readers' services.<sup>233</sup> This appearance of the English brethren in "their own territory" caused disturbance and anxiety, especially in Frankfurt, for another reason as well: Taylor Street practised open communion and open membership which was against the German Constitution. They felt personally insulted and troubled. As was the custom in many British Baptist Churches, any born again believer in Jesus Christ could gain membership without believer's baptism and would also be welcomed at the Communion Table. In Oncken's and Gutsche's tradition and teaching believer's baptism was a prerequisite for membership and participation in communion. The church in Berlin proposed

"to protest against the admission of Taylor Street as a member of the Baptist Union because of their open membership and Communion."<sup>234</sup>

This motion was lost only after Hugo Gutsche had used all his power of persuasion by challenging the Conference

"what would the world say if two Baptist churches in one place are at loggerheads? Let us love and respect one another as Christ has bidden us."<sup>235</sup>

2) Another factor called for urgent concentration on King: The arrival of the Blue-Ribbon Army, a temperance anti-alcoholic league with Mr and Mrs Mountain as their fiery champions. Several Baptists became their most ardent supporters

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<sup>233</sup> Minutes 24.12.1881.

<sup>234</sup> Konferenz Minutes D4, 24.6.1882.

<sup>235</sup> ibd pp. 11-13.



"and wear the blue and yellow ribbons everywhere any time as a sort of holy fetish like the Catholics worship their Rosary. It is not proper to leave our assembling together and attend their socials and variety programmes, especially when on the same night we Baptists have our own prayer meeting."<sup>236</sup>

3) Finally, the Salvation Army brought matters to a head. This was the last straw:

"they worship the Army instead of Jesus Christ and their Captain allows it. In East London it got so bad that servants lost their work because of the late hours of the meetings; too late for young people to be on the streets. Baptists should not wear the uniform of the Army and should not take part in public processions and demonstrations in the market places. No one can serve two masters. You can not belong to the Baptist Church and the Salvation Army at the same time. Our members ... should be more regular at our own services."<sup>237</sup>

King Williams Town, therefore, became strategic in the struggle for survival and effective outreach. Hugo Gutsche wanted to concentrate on his town. The long-sought-for division finally took place when the Rev and Mrs Martin Schmidt arrived from Hamburg Oncken College, the Alma Mater of Gutsche, at the Buffalo Harbour on Sunday 15 September 1889, for their first church and charge (just like Gutsche) in Stutterheim, with Frankfurt, Hannover und Keiskama Hoek under their care as well. It had taken eight years of fighting and patient diplomacy to get the most needed third minister. The statistical returns reveal the following picture at that time (April 1890):

|                              |               |             |
|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| King Williams Town           | First church  | 277 members |
| Berlin                       | Second church | 225 members |
| Stutterheim                  | Third church  | 226 members |
| Three ordained ministers and |               | 728 members |

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<sup>236</sup> Minutes 10 Febr 1884.

<sup>237</sup> Church Minutes 1885 Jan 25:424.

## Formation of the Baptist Union of Southern Africa in 1877

Another important event within this period was the establishment of a Baptist "Denomination" in 1877, ten years after Gutsche's arrival in South Africa. The scattered Baptists were separated by long distances, from Cape Town to King Williams Town via Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown. They came together as often as possible, were eager to extend the work but had communication and policy problems. Mr Thomas King of East London proposed on 11 July 1877 in Grahamstown, to form themselves into a Baptist Union of Churches, draw up a constitution with rules and by-laws and therewith start a non-Episcopal Free Church Denomination for South Africa with the purpose to

1. "reach and help those of our own faith and practice who were isolated in this great lone land or clustered in little knots in its towns and villages, and
2. to embark on larger activities in the cause of Christ; we must go forward in South Africa or go back home again.
3. for the purpose of co-operating more effectively ... in the noble work of evangelising and leavening our new country with the spirit of Christ."<sup>238</sup>

There were six ministers and five laymen at this inaugural meeting which counts as the "First Baptist Union Assembly in South Africa." A handsome photograph of the eleven taken at that historic occasion has survived.<sup>239</sup>

The only other (seventh) minister in the country, pastor Riemer of Berlin, did not attend because he had problems with the English who accepted unbaptized believers for membership and communion. He changed his mind and joined with his church three years later.

Gutsche, as a man of peace, unity and brotherly passion, sought the cooperation of all Baptists, at all times, whether English, Afrikaans, German, Black or White. But he had to pay dearly for his "Union-mindedness"; he was misunderstood by quite a few members and friends.

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<sup>238</sup> From the letter of Rev G W Cross who was present as one of the co-founders, cited by Sydney Hudson-Reed, *Together for a Century: History of the Baptist Union of South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: South African Baptist Historical Society, 1977, pp. 23-25.

<sup>239</sup> H.J. Batts, *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, Cape Town: Mascew Miller, 1922, Frontispiece.

Although he was one of the founder members of the Union in Grahams-town, he could not get his own church to join until the year after; Berlin hesitated until 1880. When he gave his Assembly report he omitted to inform them that they had elected him Vice-President and fourth President for the following year 1881. He rose to this elevated and honoured position once more in 1887. The other German presidents after him were Rev E.P. Riemer (1893), his son Mr Theo Riemer (1922), then Dr med Philipp Gutsche (1923), still during the lifetime of his father Carl Hugo; and his successor, the Rev J.A. Baier, in 1935. When the German Bund and the English Baptists joined hands and hearts in 1877, their witness was substantially strengthened and the membership doubled, as the statistics show:<sup>240</sup>

|                    |     |                             |     |
|--------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
| Grahamstown        | 140 | King Williams Town, Bethany | 288 |
| Kariega            | 29  | Berlin                      | 283 |
| Port Alfred        | 10  |                             |     |
| Alice              | 27  |                             |     |
| Port Elizabeth     | 153 |                             |     |
| Cradock            | 18  | English members             | 409 |
| K.W.T. Taylor Str. | 32  | German members              | 571 |

This is what it cost him, apart from many other incidents: Mary and he left King on horseback at 11<sup>30</sup> on Saturday 17 May 1879 to arrive at Keiskama Hoek at 16<sup>45</sup> with a break of 90 minutes at Black River. When the time for Communion had arrived after the service on Sunday morning, Hugo Gutsche was told that there could not possibly be any Communion with him in future as he and the Bethany Church had joined the English Baptist Union, where open Communion was practised and some unbaptized believers were accepted as full members. This was unbiblical and Keiskama Hoek could not have any further fellowship with Pastor Gutsche.

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<sup>240</sup> SA Baptist Union Handbook July 1880 and German Bund minutes and statistics 1877-1880, p. 20, 93, 131.

"there was great excitement & stirring speech. Long disputation with Ad Schmidt, Frauenstein, Radloff, Kabels & Peinke sen. Riding home Monday arrived 16<sup>45</sup> Mary and I pretty well knocked up."<sup>241</sup>

"I was taken ill in the evening ... I felt so weak & feeble that I laid immediately down after dinner & did not rise till next morning."<sup>242</sup>

He was a broken and humiliated man, full of crying shame and disappointment. Several conferences and emergency meetings followed and feelings were running high. What made it worse was the unfortunate fact that Pastor Riemer joined the opposition, for a time. Only after he had sought independent opinions from Germany and America, did he change his position and supported Gutsche. The feud with Keiskama Hoek was finally buried in 1885. It took them six long years to apologize and return.<sup>243</sup>

While Gutsche was still battling with Keiskama Hoek, the Independent and Congregational Churches in South Africa were attracted to the newly formed Baptist Union and sought closer ties and possibly amalgamation, perhaps even the start of a united theological college:

"The Rev N. Smit was introduced to the Assembly and expressed his hope that the two bodies in South Africa would soon become one and conveyed the fraternal greetings of the Congregational Union to the Baptists in session."<sup>244</sup>

This matter was thoroughly discussed at the annual Assembly of King Williams Town. While Gutsche was wholeheartedly for the fullest co-operation with all Christian bodies, formal union into one body was another matter. He knew full well that he did not have his churches behind this radical move and that they were not ready yet for such an umbrella organization. As the newly elected vice-president, he spoke against the motion which was then lost and postponed indefinitely. This whole matter ended with a rather dramatic twist. Gutsche writes, about Tuesday evening 12 July 1881:

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<sup>241</sup> sic; Diary 17-19 May 1879.

<sup>242</sup> sic; diary 26-27 May 1879.

<sup>243</sup> Bund Konferenz Minutes 28 June 1879:21-24; 22 Oct 1885:434-435.

<sup>244</sup> Baptist Union Handbook 1881/82:5.

"After the Annual Sermon preached by the Rev R.H. Brotherton, a Communion Service was to be held, and the Rev N. Smit (from the Congregational Union, who hoped that the two bodies in South Africa would soon become one - was to preside and give the address ... The Rev N. Smit, who was seated at the Communion Table, rose to address communicants from the words 'We would see Jesus'; and in a few moments had his desire fulfilled, as he quietly sat in his chair, and, leaning upon the arm of Mr Nuttall, peacefully expired."<sup>245</sup>

In his diary he writes "Rev N. Smith fell down dead, the soiree fell out in consequence of his death ... Gloom laying over all on account of Smiths sudden death."<sup>246</sup>

Several renewed attempts were made during the years 1906 to 1910, when on the initiative of the Presbyterian Church, the Dutch Reformed, Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational and Baptist Churches were invited to send representatives to Johannesburg in July 1907 to consider a Union of all the evangelical churches. All the above bodies responded except the Dutch Reformed Church which did not favour the idea. Two more meetings took place when after the Combined Conference in Bloemfontein from 24-26 March 1909 "The Draft Constitution adopted and recommended as a possible Basis of Union " was printed and distributed to all four denominations. The political events during 1910 and 1914 (Union of South Africa and First World War) put an end to these efforts.<sup>247</sup>

Almost up to the end of his life Gutsche was a member of the Baptist Union Executive and his German Churches played a vital part in all extension and mission work countrywide. When asked by his Churches in 1882, during one of the frequent debates on the merits or otherwise of membership with the Baptist Union, and what they would lose by resigning from that body, Hugo Gutsche answered patiently that the blessing would increase as the years go by, that ministers simply needed

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<sup>245</sup> Baptist Union Handbook 1881/82, p. 5-6.

<sup>246</sup> Gutsche Diary 12-13 July 1881.

<sup>247</sup> The Pamphlet, filed with the Gutsche papers, was issued by the acting secretary Rev W.H. Richards of Sea Point Cape Colony in April 1909, with a preface by the Rev John Smith, DD of Pietermaritzburg, the prime mover of the whole exercise whose closing sentence was "That they all may be one" Jn 17:22.

the fellowship and fraternal to bring inspiration back to their own churches; that unity in doctrine, practice and purpose was desirable but not the first goal which is to love one another, present a united front in legal and fiscal matters and stand as one man against persecution and interference from the State, if ever that should happen again. For the ministers' sake, for the churches' own good and for Christ's sake, let's support our Baptist Union.<sup>248</sup>

## **Gutsche as Missionary**

### ***Carl Pape and Tshabo***

One important item on Gutsche's first agenda to discuss with his new members over Christmas 1867 reads "Mission Meetings." Though they were the only two Baptists living in King he held his first service in his home "for Kaffirs and their friends" on Wed 20 Jan 1868<sup>249</sup> and every following Wednesday whenever possible. As early as February 1868 (three months after his arrival) Gutsche had regular mission prayer meetings organized at all stations.<sup>250</sup> He told his Settlers, that he had come to serve all peoples of the land, including the Xhosa and Fingo at their door steps. In June 1869 a missionary committee is mentioned. At the end of November 1869 Miss Harding is employed to teach at the Breidbach Church black and white children in the "Baptist Mission School" for which additional land had been bought; more buildings were to be put up.<sup>251</sup> We found no record of where Miss Harding came from, but there is much evidence of her stirring work under Gutsche, over many years. At the prayer meetings the main focus was to pray for the surrounding natives that doors may be opened to reach them with the Gospel, as the settlers were being reached and uplifted. They also prayed for a man to work among them full time.

The 'missionary committee' was a 'think tank' to explore ways and means to translate this missionary concern into concrete action. We know from minutes and diary notes that frequent discussions took place with Dr

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<sup>248</sup> Konferenz Minutes Frankfurt Easter Monday 10 Apr 1882:11-13.

<sup>249</sup> Diary.

<sup>250</sup> First Monday of every month, Agenda Note Book p. 12.

<sup>251</sup> Agenda for business meetings, Note Book 1867-1874, pp 7, 12, 27, 28, 35.

Kropf of the Bethel mission and the missionaries from Peelton headquarters (Congregationalists), St Matthew's, Mt Coke and Lovedale; all these stations were close by and Gutsche's Baptists lived among them.

The distinction, honour and all credit of starting Baptist Mission work in British Kaffraria/South Africa goes to Carl Hugo Gutsche and his helpers in the German Churches, under the direction and guidance of the Holy Spirit, who had prepared Carl Pape beforehand.

The only thing needed was for them to meet at Frankfurt/Berlin, and the process of events would start: In the same manner as the evangelist "Philip went down from Jerusalem to Gaza" (Acts 8), so Gutsche became the catalyst to travel from Hamburg to small Frankfurt to baptize Odendaal for the Afrikaanse Baptiste and start work among the native people in South Africa.

They had hardly started to pray for the poor lost heathen when the answer had already arrived. Their very own **Carl and Louise Pape** volunteered to evangelize the Fingo around Berlin where they lived. Any further search for suitable candidates was rendered unnecessary. They did not even incur travelling or removal costs for Pape dwelled among them, a real miracle indeed! Once again, God's timing and provision had been perfect. They were greatly encouraged and embarked on their new venture with enthusiasm, realizing how incredibly fortunate they were:

Americans, Britons and other missionaries from Europe travelled half way round the globe to reach China, India and Central Africa and spend huge amounts of money in the process ... But we in Kaffraria just open the door and find Africans in the backyards and all around us. They have to spend years in order to acclimatize and learn the languages but many of us speak their mother tongue and are familiar with their ways and cultures.

Carl August Ferdinand Pape was born on 23 May 1841 in Alt Labuhn Pomerania as the eldest son of Carl snr and his wife Caroline. The parents were 42 years old when they left Germany with their five children Carl jnr (17), Wilhelm (13), August (10), Auguste (4) and Bertha (2), arriving on board the "La Rochelle" on 28 August 1858 at Buffalo Harbour East London as part of the German Settlers. It took tremendous courage and faith to exchange home for the unknown fortunes of a distant Africa. After a sound conversion young Carl was baptized in 1861 by Friedrich

Sandow in the Yellowwood River below Frankfurt and thereby belonged to the first generation of German Baptists. His father died shortly after and young Carl Ferdinand had to support his mother and the younger children. He found work in the Transkei with a German trader and soon spoke the Xhosa tongue almost as well as a Xhosa. Proof of this are the numerous popular German hymns and songs which he translated into the native language, to teach and use them in all his meetings; they are still part of the Xhosa Baptist Hymnbook. Before long he knew their habits, culture and customs and was fully accepted by the 'Natives'.<sup>252</sup>

When he returned to Tshabo 10 km West of Berlin he worked the family farm "Hohenfelde" and married Henriette Sophia Louise Bauer with whom he had eighteen children. He was surrounded by hundreds of the more peace-loving Fingo tribes who abhorred violence unlike the proper Xhosa further up toward the Transkei. Carl Pape's compulsion to evangelize his heathen neighbours was intensified when he had a vision while on a brief visit to nearby Kwelegha Mouth on the Indian Ocean; not unlike Peter's trance on the tanner's roof in Joppe or Paul's dream at Troas:

Not far from the shore he saw a wattle and daub hut complete with thatched roof swimming on the waves and turning round and round with ever increasing speed; it was sinking fast. Several Fingoes stood in the open entrance, held out appealing hands and waved frantically as they shouted: "Help us! Save us! We perish!" Then the people panicked and hut and Blacks disappeared altogether.<sup>253</sup>

This experience shocked Pape into action and was his final call and confirmation to missionary service. Gutsche was delighted. The Frankfurt Church commissioned him in 1868 to spend two days a week preaching

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<sup>252</sup> During the 19th Century the indigenous tribes were called "Kaffirs" and the area around King Williams Town "Kaffraria." Later this changed to Bantus, Africans, Natives, Plurals, Non-Europeans, or simply 'Blacks'. Today black people find 'Kaffir' insulting and repugnant, and easily turn violent when so addressed or called 'gardenboy' and 'kitchengirl,' although they might be 70 years and older. Any of the above words in this thesis are used in a historiographic sense and are in no way meant to be insulting.

<sup>253</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, p. 3.



and evangelizing the Fingo people for a stipend of £30 per annum, which, however, was rarely fully paid. Indeed, Pape once offered to forgo it entirely when the funds had dried up. Had it not been for the "considerable amounts of money from poor Baptists in Germany"<sup>254</sup> and some generous gifts from Professor A Rauschenbusch from America during the first five years in support of Pape, they would have had to stop. Several hundred Pounds and Dollars for the Tshabo mission and school were also received from overseas. Gutsche warned, if you give up missions you will automatically start digging your own grave; missions keep the church alive and healthy.<sup>255</sup>

A number of farmers stated openly that they would not give a penny for Tshabo and walked out when missionary items were discussed.<sup>256</sup> This is not surprising in view of the "Kaffir Wars" and attacks when white settlers had suffered much loss of life and stock. Their houses had been burnt down by marauding hordes, Lindemann's son was killed 100 m from the homestead and their very Border area around the Amatola basin had borne the brunt of the battles with Sandile and other angry impis. They hated the Blacks for what they had done to the Settlers.

Now Gutsche wanted to preach to those who had nearly destroyed them!? They were willing to give money for his personal support -little as it was- for they could not be without a pastor, but had no time for the Blacks. Only about half the members supported his missionary strategy.

Pape, meanwhile, worked faithfully, with great devotion and consecrated service, for seven years until the first three Fingo converts, all women, were baptized just below the church, two of them being the first and second wife of the local headman. At first the chief was furious, complained to the Berlin magistrate and then called his council together for advice. After much deliberation they said to the women "If you want to be crazy and act like foolish women do, go ahead and do what you like!" The wives were delighted and went through the waters of baptism without delay; everybody else was happy, most of all Pape and Gutsche.

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<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Financial Returns and Cash Book Journals 1868-1879 give details.

<sup>256</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, pp. 5 & 8.

When Hugo Gutsche, a little later, baptized some more converts in the same pool of the Tshabo stream, a contributory of the Buffalo River, a snake folded around his leg, encumbering and distracting him greatly to the agitation of the onlookers, until it was driven off. The natives were frightened, some passing soldiers joked but no harm came to the baptiser.<sup>257</sup>

"Fingos and Xhosas both wore red ochre blankets much as the Romans wore their tunics; the women had an ochred skirt, both of which were so dusty and dirty that they were later asked not to come to church in their raw heathenish customs but in decent attire. Their round huts were without windows or chimney. A circular ridge in the centre of the mud floor marked the hearth. Those inside squatted on their heels or sat against the wall. All were careful to keep their heads below the thick pall of smoke that filled the hut from four feet upwards and blackened the beams and thatch. Visitors needed much grace to endure the discomforts and many other things that offend a European's susceptibilities. It was the easiest thing to weep inside a Kaffirhut; tears came readily and easy to preacher and congregation alike whether he was speaking standing or kneeling inside the dwelling."<sup>258</sup>

Baptists were rather late comers on the South African missionary scene. The Moravians (Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine) of Count von Zinzendorf sent Georg Schmidt to Bavianskloof near Caledon (later re-named Genadendal) in 1737 (!) long before the Dutch and British churches thought of starting their own South African Mission Societies. Of course, individual outreach of bringing Christ to the indigenous tribes had been ongoing since Jan van Riebeeck's time. However, the Moravians were the first to establish model stations mainly in the Western and Southern Cape by teaching the "Hottentots" trade, manual skills and numerous handicrafts. Cobblers, printers, bakers, smiths, taylor, bricklayers, carpenters and builders were trained, as well as teachers, nurses and domestic workers. As soon as a person accepted the Christian faith he or

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<sup>257</sup> Minutes and reports by Pape at Bund Konferenz 28 June 1879 King Williams Town; J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, p. 13.

<sup>258</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*. South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, p. 12.

she had to embark on a learning experience which enabled them to become self-sufficient and mature in body, mind and spirit. The Rhenish Mission appeared in 1829 and concentrated first on Stellenbosch, Tulbagh and Worcester, but later also covered most of German South West Africa (Namibia).

The Berlin and Hermannsburg Societies (both Lutheran) occupied large tracts of Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Cape. Their missionary Döhne translated the New Testament into Zulu; Pastor Dr A. Kropf wrote a dictionary of the Xhosa language and became the life-long expert advisor on Bible translations. Knothe, Trümpelmann and Erdmann wrote grammatical and Sotho works as well as textbooks on Bantu languages in general. The London Missionary Society, after 1820, sent famous men like Robert Moffat,<sup>259</sup> Dr David Livingstone and the controversial Dr John Philip to the Colony. The United Free Church of Scotland established Lovedale College near Alice as a major educational, medical and theological centre with the best printing presses for almost all Bantu languages in the country. Dr James Stewart was their illustrious principal. The Methodists took root at Healdtown near Beaufort East with excellent training colleges and schools. When Hugo Gutsche and Carl Pape started at Tshabo, the Catholics were just building their famous monastery at Mariannhill near Durban for the Zulu, with an abundance of Vatican money in such elaborate fashion that the two-men pioneer effort of the Baptists in Kaffraria seemed to pale into insignificance. However, they did valiantly and future events justified them fully.

Carl Pape worked hard under the most trying circumstances. At times, for his own safety, he went preaching with the revolver hanging from his side but had only two or three women in the service. Many of their men were away on military excursions or Government projects. Church windows were broken and the schools had to close down.<sup>260</sup> As early as 1868 Gutsche's diary speaks of Baptist schools in Frankfurt and King Williams Town, with similar plans for Berlin and Keiskama Hook. Miss Harding appeared and taught German, religion and English in Breitbach. Quarterly examinations were started in 1869 and blackboards put into all

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<sup>259</sup> \*For his theology see: Bruce Ritchie, *The Theology of Robert Moffat of Kuruman*, PhD, University of Malawi, 2006.

<sup>260</sup> Berlin Minutes 28 Sept 1878:4 & 12.

schoolrooms and churches. From the start Miss Harding instructed black and white children together. When she moved to Tshabo, Carl Pape's many children were in her class, in addition to quite a few black ones, all in the same room. Because of the prevailing unrest the Government proposed to re-settle all Blacks across the Kei River. Pape declared

"I shall preach as long as Fingoes live at Tshabo but will not follow them should they be moved elsewhere. Even now my conscience troubles me when I think of our 18 children, for the Bible says "If a man can not properly look after his own house how can he rule the church of God?"<sup>261</sup>

In 1881, after 13 years of service, they had 25 black baptized believers and over 50 children at school in Tshabo when Pape told the church of his intention to quit:

"Although I shall continue to work among the heathen as long as I have breath I now resign from my official position and ask you please to appoint a younger and more qualified successor. You ordained me to this ministry for which I am deeply grateful. Twice I begged you in vain to send me to Lovedale for some training. The complexity of these emerging times demands that spiritual workers are properly equipped for the road ahead, a privilege which I never enjoyed. Let us not make the same mistake twice! Our new man should have at least two years at Lovedale before he starts at Tshabo."<sup>262</sup>

Those were prophetic utterances of our first "lay missionary in farmer's garb." His wish was granted; all subsequent missionaries were 'educated' and properly trained before entering the service. What he could not know, however, was that fifty years later in 1928, his youngest son from their eighteen children, Benjamin E. Pape BA of Berlin, would take charge of the Kaffrarian Mission Field and the Tshabo station in particular. It was only fitting that the prophetic mantle should fall on his shoulders. He had received his training at Rochester USA and became the first principal of the Ennals Institute for the training of black pastors for which there was a great need. Ben Pape married a daughter (Gertrud) of the Rev Dr Hugo Gutsche. She brought her grandfather's missionary interest into the marriage and was a wonderful help to her husband. Her father gave

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<sup>261</sup> Berlin Minutes 28.9.1878:4 & 12.

<sup>262</sup> Bund Konferenz Minutes 28 June 1879.

them a car which had by now become a necessary aid to cover the considerable distances of his superintendency; he could never have done it on horseback like his predecessors. The motor car was more effective for the wise oversight and religious instruction of his people and preachers.

Dr med Philipp Gutsche had a brick church with house attached built at Tshabo, complete with forms, table, chair, Bible, hymn books and bell. He was chairman and a most generous supporter of the Society. Another of his many gifts was his house in King Williams Town, after he had moved his practice to East London.

The Rev Hugo Peinke, son of the German Settlers August and Auguste Peinke of Keiskama Hoek, received his theological training during the First World War in Glasgow and London Pesbots College and became the Missionary Superintendent for the Transkei and Pondoland and minister of the Umtata and Idutywa Baptist Churches for several decades. Surely, Carl Pape's example and Carl Hugo Gutsche's vision had born fruit.<sup>263</sup> Pape's resignation was accepted and several members suggested to close down school and mission and abandon Tshabo. Others wanted to continue. The matter was thoroughly discussed at the Bund Konferenz 28 June 1868 in King Williams Town, with Gutsche in the chair, as usual:

"The Lord gave us a field which was not served by other societies. God supplied the brother who with passionate love and fervour [Liebesglut und Eifer] worked for souls, and that not without fruit ... The more we do for the poor natives around us the more blessing we will reap for our white churches; for Missions is the Church in action and her life-blood ... If you want to stop, we are in honour bound to inform our neighbours at Peelson, Tschatschus Kraal, Mount Cook and Newlands. But what about our duty towards Him who commanded 'Go and preach the Gospel' and who loved us unto death?" It is wrong for us to put the hands on the plow and then look back. Several of you spoke in favour of continuing and dreamed of the model missionary who would live with the Natives, run the schools, preach on Sundays, go from kraal

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<sup>263</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, 10 & 14.

to kraal teaching them the culture of honest work towards economical independence etc ... But where to find such a man?"<sup>264</sup>

It was moved by Gutsche and seconded by Pastor Riemer to look for a full time missionary to continue Carl Pape's work. For three months all Baptists in Kaffraria prayed earnestly for a worthy successor; if no one volunteered, the German and American Baptists should be asked to find a suitable candidate. Gutsche insisted on a German and observed

"I want a missionary from Germany, for the English/Americans are fussy and immodest, take it far too easy and demand higher stipends for the work. That's why the two biggest Missionary Societies in London prefer to rather engage Germans on their fields."<sup>265</sup>

But no one from South Africa came forward. Philipp Bickel and Pastor Tüchtfeld from Hamburg thought they had found a suitable candidate in young Heinrich Brinkmann. He arrived in King Williams Town on 25 May 1881 and received English and Xhosa tuition from Gutsche, Riemer and Pape for six months when it was obvious that these private lessons did not help much. Some wanted him to teach for a year to get acclimatised, others proposed two years on a Moravian mission station as an understudy but most were convinced that Lovedale was the answer. This latter section won. For almost two years Brinkmann studied at Lovedale. He lived and learned with the Blacks and Coloureds, his marks were average to good but he always failed his final tests in the English and Xhosa languages. He tried to sit for a teacher's certificate but did not make it. After three years at Lovedale he returned to Berlin being useful here and there in the churches, giving his best but was simply not of the right calibre for the task—which was not really his fault.<sup>266</sup> It is quite clear from the minutes and the 'case history' that Gutsche and the whole church expected too much from him by measuring him on the stature and qualities of the more famous and fortunate men, such as Gutsche, Langhein and Pape from Germany—which was very unfair. Without exception, on every Konferenz agenda from 1881 to 1885 we find the item "Heinrich Brinkmann" with full reports about his progress or otherwise. Quite a few

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<sup>264</sup> Konferenz 28 June 1878.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid 1878:14.

<sup>266</sup> Church Minutes 30 Dec 1882:263.

letters between him and Gutsche are preserved. It was a sad chapter but also a courageous attempt to obey our Lord's Missionary Imperative.<sup>267</sup>

Gutsche said about the whole matter

"Mission work wants even more than just men and money and buildings; it needs consecrated talent. We have talent, but not consecrated; we have consecration without talent. May the Lord grant us more of the combination!"<sup>268</sup>

While Heinrich Brinkmann was still agonizing, Friedrich Stroh from Büdingen/Upper Hesse arrived in King Williams Town without proper announcement on 24 March 1883 and offered his services as teacher, evangelist, missionary, or whatever, to Hugo Gutsche and his German Bund. He had paid his own fare. They engaged him for a quarter as evangelist. He then became a stop gap and valuable spare wheel cum scribe for all sorts of tasks, even ministering up North in the German Mayfair-Johannesburg Church. But it was evident to him and all others that he could not step into Carl Pape's shoes; it would take him years to acquire a working knowledge of Xhosa in order to identify with their customs and culture. In the meantime Pape, in his spare-time, carried on as much as he could.

### **John Adams, the First "Indigenous Baptist Missionary"<sup>269</sup>**

While the churches continued to pray for a suitable successor to step into Carl Pape's shoes, Hugo Gutsche was highly excited when discovering 28 year old John Adams (or Gilana by his tribal name) and his

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<sup>267</sup> Konferenz Minutes 28.3.1885:11-12.

<sup>268</sup> Church Minutes 22 June 1883 & Obituary Pamphlet John Adams, p. 4.

<sup>269</sup> *Note:* We are fortunate to possess some primary documents on John Adams' life: The South African Baptist Missionary Society printed and distributed a leaflet (four pages) on "The Tshabo Mission and its first Native Evangelist" written by Hugo Gutsche as an obituary after his untimely death on 23 August 1893 (H.J. Batts, *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, Cape Town: Mascew Miller, 1922). The Baptist Union Handbook 1894, Bund Konferenz- and Church Minutes 1889-1894 give further reports and details on his life and work at Tshabo.

young wife Annie in 1888. Although they were without believer's baptism, he employed them straight away and testified that

"Everyone who has a feeling heart and not a stone in his bosom, will take more than just a passing interest in this couple at Tshabo."<sup>270</sup>

**John Adams** was born in 1861 and belonged to the Congregational Church at Peulton which was the Headquarters of the London Missionary Society, situated ten miles away from Berlin, King Williams Town or Stutterheim. His father was killed by armed robbers as he returned from the Kimberley Mines. He started primary school in Peulton and was so good that they sent him to the English Mission School in Grahamstown. While working at Port Elizabeth harbour in 1877 to get some money to support his mother, he experienced a proper conversion under the Rev H. Keyser of the Memorial Church and immediately started to preach and witness to the Blacks with such acceptance that his Bishop found him a place at Lovedale in January 1880. In 1884 he graduated with the Government's Provisional Teacher Certificate. He then studied theology. Principal Dr James Stewart took a personal interest in him.<sup>271</sup>

At this stage Vater Gutsche grabbed him for Tshabo and received a Government grant of £30 for his newly qualified teacher which, unfortunately, was immediately withdrawn after the first visit by an inspector as there were not enough pupils at Tshabo to justify the subsidy. Appeals for help were sent to the British Baptists who replied that they had an agreement with other mission bodies to evangelize as far down as the Belgian Congo but leave the rest of Southern Africa to the London, Scottish and Wesleyan Societies. Of course, the German Baptists were not part of this understanding and believed that the whole world was their parish. They had no guilty feelings of transgression, intrusion or rivalry.

John Adams preached in every wind and weather from kraal to kraal by day and night, in huts and fields, in yards and shops of white traders, and Sundays at his Tshabo church. "Lord, help me to preach better that still more souls will be saved!"<sup>272</sup> was his constant and sincere prayer. On 15

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<sup>270</sup> Gutsche's Mission Pamphlet Nov 1893.

<sup>271</sup> Gutsche's 1893 obituary.

<sup>272</sup> Minutes 4 May 1890:158.



May 1890, after seventeen months with the Baptists, he and his wife Annie were baptized by Gutsche with ten other Blacks, all his converts. Annie was an excellent helpmate and led Bible class, choir and Sunday School. At the Port Elizabeth Assembly in June 1888 he was accepted as the first black evangelist/pastor of the Denomination.<sup>273</sup>

## **Founding of the South African Baptist Missionary Society**

The 1892 Assembly in King Williams Town from 18-21 April (over Easter) was an important one. Gutsche had been president of the Baptist Union twice, in 1881 and 1887, and hosted the Conference now for the fifth time. All meetings were held in the Bethany chapel. It was resolved

"to celebrate a century of Baptist Missions by forming a missionary society of our own to carry the Gospel to the heathen at our doors. The Baptist Missionary Society of Britain is the oldest of all denominational societies (William Carey 1792) but has confined itself in Africa to the Congo. It left South Africa to the London Missionary Society (Congregationalists) ... Such an arrangement might be very advisable for the Baptists of Britain ... but it could not limit the sense of obligation felt by the Baptists of South Africa to give to the Native peoples the full gospel as they understood it."<sup>274</sup>

Carl Pape and John Adams were working at Tshabo. At Springs and Boksburg, a promising mission church with 45 baptized Natives was established, and Cape Town did mission work among the Coloureds in Jarvis Street and Pondoland. This was encouragement enough to co-ordinate and plan more stations.<sup>275</sup>

During those sessions in King Williams Town the South African Baptist Missionary Society was born with Mr T.B. King as chairman, Hugo Gutsche as secretary and Rev D.H. Hay as treasurer of the new Society. Incidentally, Tom King and Hugo Gutsche had also been foundation members of the Baptist Union 15 years earlier! At their first committee

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<sup>273</sup> Gutsche's obituary, p. 2.

<sup>274</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, 2; H.J. Batts, *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, Cape Town: Mascow Miller, 1922, p. 133.

<sup>275</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, pp. 3-4.

meeting the brethren present gave £1 each. With this capital sum of £14 the new body was launched in 1892.<sup>276</sup>

"The pastor and officers had arranged everything to the convenience of the Assembly. The German brethren took important parts in many of the debates and were especially enthusiastic on the 'Missionary Question.' Pastor Gutsche was, as usual, an authority on all statistics, laws and rules of procedure."<sup>277</sup>

In spite of all the careful planning, the deacons forgot to check on the ventilation of the sanctuary; one of the grids had broken which resulted in an

"untoward event during the delivery of the presidential address which was marred by the loud barking and whining of a dog for deliverance. He had got himself into the foundation and moved about under the floor but could not return. All efforts to reach him from outside failed. The president Mr John Brodie Esq. seemed less concerned than any of his audience and went on delivering his message. When the people understood the cause of the annoyance they settled down to listen, and then, soaring from his manuscript Mr Brodie fairly held them captive, by a strain that rose above the dog's barking and at times to eloquence."<sup>278</sup>

Gutsche once more presented John Adams and his wife Annie. John addressed the Assembly, the first time such a thing had happened or was possible: A 'Coloured' man speaking at a 'White' gathering! Actually, to Gutsche and his Baptists a dream had come true: A well-educated and truly converted brother and co-worker from another culture, language and colour was speaking to them in English. This was a historic and miraculous moment, the crowning event on the first day of the infant society and a step in the right direction. Soon many more indigenous believers would be integrated as delegates and pastors.

"He was looking very ill, as he told of the work among his heathen brethren, of their wondering reception of the Gospel but especially of

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<sup>276</sup> In 1992, hundred years later, more than One Million Rand were given to Missions by SA Baptists.

<sup>277</sup> Baptist Union Handbook 1892, p. 8+10.

<sup>278</sup> Baptist Union Handbook 1892, p. 8.

the ravages of drink among them. 'Our people' he cried, 'are being ruined by drink - ruined by drink!'.<sup>279</sup>

He never spoke at an Assembly again. The following year it is recorded that he was seriously ill and but faint hopes were entertained of his recovery. Soon after he was sent to Kimberley in the hope of the drier climate and air proving helpful to his condition, but he died quite soon.<sup>279</sup>

"It was common knowledge that John Adams suffered from tuberculosis of the lungs. He knew there was not much hope for healing and his two desires were to still win many Fingos for Christ and that he would be ordained as a Baptist preacher and missionary before his death. Both wishes were granted. On 31 July 1893 in the presence of a large congregation at Tshabo his ordination took place. The next day he boarded the train to Kimberley and found some ease in the dry climate and higher altitude. The Rev James Hughes of the local church as well as three medical doctors looked after him by making him comfortable but could not do much else. Toward the end Gutsche sent his wife Annie up to soothe and cheer him. 'She impressed the Kimberley church greatly with her sense of devotion to her husband and her piety toward her God.' Mr Hughes wrote. 'In the end he could hardly speak yet his mental faculties remained bright and vigorous to the last. His dark skin lit up with inward Joy and he nodded his head lightly when asked if he felt the presence of Jesus. The next day (23 August 1893) his soul took flight to be forever with the Lord where there is no distinction of race or social position.' Hughes reports. He was buried the following day in the Baptist portion of the Kimberley cemetery."<sup>280</sup>

Gutsche wrote that two black deacons and the widowed Mrs Adams continue the work and many

"red blanket Kaffirs now come to Tshabo. Thirty-one members form now this mission church, nearly all of them the fruit of John Adam's work; Sunday School, singing groups, Bible classes, Enquirer's meetings etc. continue thriving ... We are taking the necessary steps

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<sup>279</sup> Church Minutes 23 Aug 1893.

<sup>280</sup> H.J. Batts, *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, Cape Town: Mascew Miller, 1922, p. 133-135; Obituary p. 3.

for securing the services of another devoted Native Evangelist, and also a European Missionary will soon be in the field."<sup>281</sup>

Since the inauguration of the Missionary Society in April 1892 Gutsche was a happy man: Missions were no longer a one man - one church affair but had become the concern and obligation of the whole Baptist Union, although their combined strength was still comparatively small. As their secretary he was a live-wire; his fertile and innovative imagination created enthusiasm and growth. In his first report to the 1893 Assembly in Cape Town he stated that

"only seven of our twenty-two churches contributed to the mission fund; even several members of the Committee did not give a penny. As an incentive we have rewarded our young people with a copy on the life of William Carey, Alfred Saker or Knibb as soon as they had collected £1 or more for the Society. The English church in East London staged a sacred concert in aid of our very ill John Adams, to comfort and support him. - King Williams Town remains the centre of our work. We bought the big Berkley Street Wesleyan Church for £350, (even the foundations cost more!) and pay £24 for interest per annum. We engaged the Rev Chas Pittman from London as our missionary and are wholly responsible for his stipend and an urgently needed horse, for him to reach the Natives. Is there no one who can give? The Lord needs every single one of us!"<sup>282</sup>

Surely, to label these enthusiastic, sacrificial mission efforts of Gutsche and his people as *"confining their Baptist witness to white self-interest"*<sup>283</sup> is a very unkind and mistaken remark. The Kaffrarian and English Baptists had no political motives but were solely prompted by Christian love for the salvation and social upliftment of the Natives out of devotion to our Lord Jesus Christ in obedience to His Command. Without missions His Church would miss her calling, and unreached people will be lost for time and eternity. Edgar Ennals observes that

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<sup>281</sup> Gutsche's Nov 1893 Obituary pamphlet.

<sup>282</sup> Baptist Handbook 1894/95, p. 55.

<sup>283</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, p. 157.

"the unpopularity of mission work in the Cape is not altogether surprising in view of the numerous 'Kaffir Wars'. In these the white Settlers suffered much by losing their possessions and often life itself. Yet it was in the Cape, Border and Kaffrarian districts that the Gospel was first preached. It is a witness to the influence of the 'Good News about Jesus' that, where so much suspicion and hatred had been aroused by conflict and cruelty, the Christians from Europe nevertheless made every effort to overcome barbarism with the message of God's love. Xhosas and Fingos awoke from tribal superstitions. Unfortunately 'all too often the black man has proved an apter pupil of the evil than of the good' habits of the Whites."<sup>284</sup>

## The United Missionary Conferences

When Gutsche arrived in Kaffraria he found to his amazement at least 450 (!) white missionaries in South Africa; almost all of them, like himself, came from Europe. He was immediately challenged to seek fellowship with his colleagues across denominational barriers, share ideas, seek co-operation and establish sound mission principles. The field was so big and 'white unto harvest' that competition, rivalry and quarrels were quite unnecessary. He attended every mission conference, started to gather information and statistics on all activities and stations and was soon a walking dictionary on all matters concerning the propagation of the Gospel countrywide. One of his earlier lists (unpublished, 1882) about the foreign personell reads as follows:

|                         |    |              |
|-------------------------|----|--------------|
| American Zulu Mission   | 31 | Missionaries |
| Berlin Mission          | 52 | Missionaries |
| Congregational Union    | 28 | Missionaries |
| Dutch Reformed Church   | 21 | Missionaries |
| Episcopal Church        | 44 | Missionaries |
| Finnish Mission         | 4  | Missionaries |
| Free Church of Scotland | 14 | Missionaries |

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<sup>284</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, p. 8.

|                                |      |              |
|--------------------------------|------|--------------|
| French Mission                 | 10   | Missionaries |
| German Baptist                 | 1    | Missionary   |
| Hanover (Hermannsburg) Mission | 47   | Missionaries |
| London Missionary Society      | 12   | Missionaries |
| Moravian Mission               | 34   | Missionaries |
| Norwegian Mission              | 13   | Missionaries |
| Rhenish Mission                | 37   | Missionaries |
| Swedish Mission                | 1    | Missionaries |
| Swiss Mission                  | 3    | Missionaries |
| United Presbyterian Mission    | 8    | Missionaries |
| Wesleyan Mission               | 100+ | Missionaries |

which shows there were more than 460 foreign full-time missionaries in the country during the 1870s! Of particular interest is that this list has only one Non-White person, the black ordained Rev H. Maqundo of the Moravian Mission Station of Tinana, Mt Fletcher Kokstad, another *First* of that distinguished body of Count von Zinzendorf's "Brüdergemeine," the oldest Mission Society in our country since 1736. The Congregational Union were second when Rev T.S. Merrington started Bethelsdorp Station near Port Elizabeth in 1808, 12 years before the British Settlers arrived in Algoa Bay. All others Societies came later. Although it must be pointed out again that individual persons and/or churches often shared their faith and the Gospel with their servants, farmhands and workers, since Jan van Riebeeck's times.<sup>285</sup>

He updated his statistics regularly until he was commissioned by the 'United Missionary Conference' to collate all possible information and publish a comprehensive report "relative to all Mission work in South Africa, south of the Zambesi - to be collected once in five years." He finally submitted his findings to the Conference in 1884 which 'were highly valued and warmly recommended for printing'. But year after year the strong desire for printing came to nought because of lack of funds.

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<sup>285</sup> Original handwritten list in Gutsche's mission file.

When at last a sum of £20 sterling was raised by special efforts, the statistics were condensed to 1/5 of their original size which resulted in the omission of much valuable information. Nevertheless, the Lovedale Mission Press produced a handsome booklet of 37 closely printed pages on foolscap paper and made them available to all official, philanthropic, educational and religious parties concerned. It has the title "*Condensed Report of the Statistical Committee of the United Missionary Conference from their 20th Session held at King Wms. Town in July 1884.*" Gutsche writes in his Preface:

None can be more alive to the incompleteness and fragmentary character of this first attempt than the Committee and Convener ... But trusting to your appreciation of the difficulties to be overcome - including the reticence of the Missionaries themselves, the vast area taken in by the Committee, and the dislike of many to tabulated results - we commend this report to your favourable perusal. The Committee earnestly request all Friends of Mission Work to assist us by sending a mite to defray the cost of printing the next Returns. Rev Dr J. Stewart at Lovedale near Alice, or Rev John Harper at King William's Town, or the undersigned will gladly receive contributions to this Fund ... Advice and proposals for improved "modus operandi" are requested by the undersigned Convener of the Statistical Committee.

King William's Town, Hugo Gutsche  
April 1889 German Baptist Minister

This work contains a mine of information in ten columns i.e. 1) Name of Mission Society, 2) number of scholars in the mission schools, 3) number of church members, 4) - 9) six headings of how many Mission Stations operate in the areas of the Cape, Transkei, Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal and other provinces. Finally, Gutsche gives the total for each Society):

## Tabular View of Mission Work in South Africa 1884

| Name of Mission         |              | Pupils<br>in<br>school | Church<br>mem-<br>bers | Cape | Mission Stations |            |     |             |                 |            |
|-------------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|------|------------------|------------|-----|-------------|-----------------|------------|
|                         |              |                        |                        |      | Trs<br>Kei       | Na-<br>tal | OFS | Trs<br>vaal | Other<br>Territ | To-<br>tal |
| American Zulu Mission   |              | 2,319                  | 729                    | -    | -                | 9          | -   | -           | -               | 9          |
| Berlin Mission          |              | 3,240                  | 6,441                  | 12   | -                | 6          | 5   | 23          | -               | 46         |
| Colenso Mission         |              | no returns             |                        |      |                  |            |     |             |                 |            |
| Congregational Union    |              | 2,921                  | 6,016                  | 30   | 1                | -          | -   | -           | -               | 31         |
| Dutch Reformed Church   |              | 900                    | 1,725                  | 20   | -                | -          | -   | 7           | 2 (a)           | 29         |
| Episcopal Church        |              | 3,154                  | 3,114                  | 14   | 7                | 6          | 6   | 3           | 3 (b)           | 39         |
| Finnish Mission         |              | 209                    | 28                     | -    | -                | -          | -   | -           | 3 (c)           | 3          |
| Free Church of Scotland |              | 2,993                  | 2,840                  | 5    | 4                | 3          | -   | -           | -               | 12         |
| French Mission          |              | 843                    | 2,654                  | -    | -                | -          | -   | -           | 13 (d)          | 13         |
| German Baptist          |              |                        | 4                      | 1    | -                | -          | -   | -           | -               | 1          |
| Hanover (Hermannsburg)  |              | 1,720                  | 5,957                  | -    | -                | 19         | -   | 24          | -               | 43         |
| London Mission Society  |              | 971                    | 1,332                  | -    | -                | -          | -   | -           | 8 (e)           | 8          |
| Mackenzie Mission       |              | no returns             |                        |      |                  |            |     |             |                 |            |
| Moravian Mission        |              | 2,640                  | 2,758                  | 14   | 4                | -          | -   | -           | -               | 18         |
| Norwegian Mission       |              | 512                    | 142                    | -    | -                | -          | -   | -           | 9 (b)           | 9          |
| Rhenish Mission         |              | 3,408                  | 5,495                  | 11   | -                | -          | -   | -           | 17 (f)          | 28         |
| Ep. Schroeders Mission  |              | no returns             |                        |      |                  |            |     |             |                 |            |
| Swiss Mission           |              | 10                     | 5                      | -    | -                | 1          | -   | -           | -               | 1          |
| Swedish Mission         |              | 80                     | 42                     | -    | -                | -          | -   | 3           | -               | 3          |
| United Presbyterian     |              | 816                    | 1,461                  | 4    | 3                | -          | -   | -           | -               | 7          |
| Wesleyan Mission        |              | 14,782                 | 19,420                 | 48   | 23               | 15         | 15  | 3           | -               | 104        |
| Summary                 | 21 Societies | 41,518                 | 60,154                 | 159  | 42               | 59         | 26  | 64          | 55              | 405        |

a) Interior b) Zululand c) Hereroland d) Basutoland e) Bechuanaland  
f) Hereroland and Great Namaqualand.



(Gutsche must have felt very self-conscious, even embarrassed about his *German Baptist* entry of 4 members on 1 station with no worker, although the Swedish brethren were his 'bed fellows' with 10 (!) missionaries looking after 5 members!)

About the necessary but unfortunate omissions in the printed report Gutsche had this to say:

- 1.) The names of the tribes could not be mentioned because many returns referred to coloured, mixed and a list of almost unpronounceable petty tribes or chiefs.
- 2.) The statistics of training-, industrial- and theological institutions are missing. The reason for this is that only one training and two sewing schools have reported back. To mention these would be misleading when it is well known that above 50 such establishments are scattered up and down the country.
- 3.) The number of scholars who have passed the elementary teacher's examinations is not given; the cause for this is twofold a) The higher schools have not reported and from the elementary ones only 10 have passed (out of 38,982 scholars); b) The Cape Colony is the only S A State where these examinations obtain.

Most revealing are the detailed "Moral Statistics" about heathen customs, *ukulobola*, alcohol excesses and beer drinking as against total abstinence as a condition for membership; witchcraft, worship of ancestral spirits, polygamy and tribal dances are all critically examined. Detailed figures about thousands of acres of land under the plough or cultivated as directed by mission managers are tabulated. For instance: Drie-Fontein in the Free State (Wesleyan) has 163 square houses, 1000 acres cultivated land, 120 ploughs, 40 waggons (*sic*), 7 titles and 7 leases for 37,500 acres. Mount Arthur in the Queenstown District (also Wesleyan) has 306 square houses, 9000 acres cultivated land, 419 ploughs, 2 carts, 160 waggons, pays £700 in taxes, has 93 brick makers, 37 carpenters, 41 masons and 25 sewing mistresses. About 20 black families live on their own farms with title deeds.

The Baptist Mission was listed by Gutsche with one station (Tshabo) and four (women) converts, an insignificant entry by comparison. But one has to bear in mind that only baptized believers were counted; the number of Fingoes reached around Tshabo and King Williams Town - East London

was much higher. Their aims were noble and the results gratifying: the converts learnt to read and write, their children attended school during the week and all were trained in starting vegetable gardens and plant crops on newly cultivated land.

As the European powers extended their colonial system worldwide during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the missionary vision of the Churches in South Africa increased and received impetus and urgency because

"The principle was accepted that it is the duty of Christian Governments, ruling over heathen subjects, to have them instructed in the Christian religion."<sup>286</sup>

There was also the inspiration from men like William Carey, Hudson Taylor and other pioneer missionaries from Europe: Dr Taylor prayed in October 1889 for 1.000 new evangelists to join him in China in the following five years. He got them; even Dwight L. Moody and A.T. Pierson in the United States became agents of recruiting missionaries for Africa and Asia.<sup>287</sup> In 1894 Dr Taylor reported gladly to have received 481 men and 672 women - a total of 1.153 as helpers to "evangelize the 350 millions of Chinese people and claim every city in China for Christ."<sup>288</sup>

## **Andrew Murray the Younger**

Likewise, the South African Missions grew remarkably, as the statistics of 1906 show. Because of Gutsche's heavy workload on behalf of the

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<sup>286</sup> Andrew Murray, *The Kingdom of God in South Africa. A Survey of Missions to the Heathen South of the Zambesi*, Cape Town: SAGM, London: Nisbet, 1906, p. 12.

<sup>287</sup> \*Another major recruiter was Fredrik Franson, who sent many missionaries to China, but he was also in 1890 the founder of TEAM, at that time The Scandinavian Alliance Mission, with major work in Swaziland (Klaus Fiedler, *Die Glaubensmissionen in Afrika. Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2018, pp. 100-102, 428).

<sup>288</sup> T.W. Engstrom, T.W., 3rd ed. *An Hour with J. Hudson Taylor*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan: n.d., p. 23, 25; Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *The Biography of James Hudson Taylor*, London: China Inland Mission/Lutterworth Press, 1965, pp. 312, 332.

Baptist Union and Missionary Society and the demands from his ever growing churches, quite apart from his indifferent health and advancing years (he was 63 by now), he resigned as the statistical secretary. The Rev Andrew Murray the Younger took over and compiled the "Survey of Missions south of the Zambesi." To compare the tables of 1884 and 1906 makes interesting reading and shows clearly how dedicated and constructive thousands of men, women and churches from all over the world worked towards the upliftment, education and spiritual welfare of the heathen tribes; the growth of missions is self-evident:

**Table of Results 1906**

| Mission Societies 1906<br>Gutsche's 1884 in ( ) | European<br>workers |       | Native<br>workers | Members |          | Scholars |         |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------|-------------------|---------|----------|----------|---------|
| 1. Moravians                                    | 74                  | (34)  | 605               | 5,977   | (2,758)  | 4,079    | 2,640   |
| 2. London Missionary Soc.                       | 15                  | (12)  | 166               | 4,752   | (332)    | 4,370    | (971)   |
| 3. Wesleyan                                     | 234                 | (100) | 4,757             | 81,798  | (19,420) | 49,903   | 14,782  |
| 4. Scotch Presbyterian                          | 117                 | (22)  | 146               | 16,941  | (4,300)  | 18,692   | (3,809) |
| 5. Dutch Reformed Church                        | 146                 | (21)  | 164               | 30,497  | (1,725)  | 12,365   | (900)   |
| 6. French                                       | 46                  | (10)  | 446               | 15,774  | (10)     | 11,673   | (843)   |
| 7. Rhenish                                      | 88                  | (37)  | 202               | 31,436  | (2,645)  | 4,267    | (3,408) |
| 8. Berlin                                       | 153                 | (52)  | 759               | 45,573  | (5,495)  | 7,481    | (3,240) |
| 9. American Zulu                                | 47                  | (31)  | 761               | 4,298   | (6,441)  | 2,921    | (2,319) |
| 10. Church of England                           | 147                 | -     | 26                | 38,720  | 3,114    | 20,365   | (3,154) |
| 11. Norwegian                                   | 12                  | (13)  | 58                | 3,637   | (142)    | 700      | (512)   |
| 12. Hermannsburg                                | 94                  | (47)  | 472               | 24,654  | (5,957)  | 8,514    | (1,720) |
| 13. Romande                                     | 61                  | -     | 88                | 4,000   | -        | 2,500    | -       |
| 14. Finnish                                     | 15                  | (4)   | 36                | 1,498   | (48)     | 1,211    | (209)   |
| 15. Church of Norway                            | 15                  | -     | 36                | -       | -        | 494      | -       |
| 16. Congregational Union                        | 33                  | (28)  | 532               | 16,801  | (6,016)  | 8,544    | (2,921) |
| 17. Church of Sweden                            | 24                  | (1)   | 41                | 2,330   | (5)      | 716      | (10)    |

|                             |    |     |    |       |   |     |   |
|-----------------------------|----|-----|----|-------|---|-----|---|
| 18. Salvation Army          | 13 | -   | 8  | 972   | - | -   | - |
| 19. Swedish Zulu            | 70 | -   | 8  | 504   | - | 210 | - |
| 20. East Afr. Free Mission  | 4  | -   | 2  | 42    | - | -   | - |
| 21. S.A. General Mission    | 54 | -   | 62 | 268   | - | 689 | - |
| 22. Free Hanoverian         | 11 | -   | 21 | 3,995 | - | -   | - |
| 23. Free Methodist Mission  | 23 | -   | 51 | 1,113 | - | 771 | - |
| 24. Baptist                 | 7  | (1) | 46 | 1,113 | - | 771 | - |
| 25. Scandinav. Ind. Baptist | 9  | -   | 3  | 122   | - | 130 | - |
| 26. Hephzibah Faith Mission | 4  | -   | 2  | 12    | - | 65  | - |
| 27. S.A.C.G. Association    | -  | -   | -  | -     | - | -   | - |
| 28. S.A. Compound Mission   | 24 | -   | 36 | 976   | - | -   | - |
| 29. Student Volunteer       | -  | -   | -  | -     | - | -   | - |
| 30. Scandinavian Alliance   | -  | -   | -  | -     | - | -   | - |
| 31. Brethren in Christ      | 3  | -   | 2  | 19    | - | 208 | - |

To complete the picture, Andrew Murray, in his Survey of Missions (1906), gives us the population of South Africa as well as a table of "The Christian Population of Cape Colony" according to the National Government Census of 1904:

### Population of Southern Africa

|                      | White     | Native    | Coloured | Total     |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| Cape Colony          | 579,741   | 1,424,787 | 405,270  | 2,409,804 |
| Natal                | 97,109    | 904,041   | 107,604  | 1,108,754 |
| Transvaal            | 298,167   | 1,021,656 | 35,619   | 1,355,442 |
| Orange River Colony  | 142,679   | 235,466   | 9,170    | 387,315   |
| Southern Rhodesia    | 12,596    | 591,493   | 1,728    | 605,817   |
| Bechuanaland Protec. | 988       | 97,868    | 360      | 99,216    |
| Basutoland           | 895       | 347,731   | 222      | 348,848   |
| British South Africa | 1,132,175 | 4,623,042 | 559,979  | 6,315,196 |

|                    |                  |                  |                   |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
|                    |                  | 5,183,021        |                   |
| Portuguese         | 7,000            | 3,630,000        | 3,637,000         |
| German             | 3,388            | 350,000          | 353,388           |
| <b>Grand Total</b> | <b>1,142,563</b> | <b>9,163,021</b> | <b>10,305,584</b> |

## Christian Population of Cape Colony<sup>289</sup>

Of the population of the Colony, 2,409,804, there are 1,344,498 Christians. Of these, 557,773 are white and 786,725 native and coloured; and of this latter number, 447,314 are natives, and 339,411 of mixed coloured races.

| Denomination            | Europeans      |       | Natives        |       | Coloured             |       | Totals           |
|-------------------------|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|----------------------|-------|------------------|
|                         | Number         | %     | Number         | %     | Number               | %     |                  |
| Dutch Reformed          | 302,783        | 54,28 | 11,683         | 2,61  | 91,230               | 26,88 | 405,696          |
| Episcopal               | 126,552        | 22,69 | 74,807         | 16,72 | 80,074               |       | 281,433          |
| Methodist               | 36,032         | 6,46  | 207,190        | 46,32 | 47,042               |       | 290,264          |
| Roman Catholic          | 28,480         | 5,11  | 3,717          | 0,83  | 4,872                |       | 37,069           |
| Presbyterian            | 26,357         | 4,73  | 54,739         | 12,24 | 7,564                |       | 88,660           |
| Lutheran                | 13,710         | 2,46  | 22,353         | 5,00  | 44,839               |       | 80,902           |
| Congregationalists      | 4,986          | 0,89  | 55,634         | 12,44 | 51,582               |       | 112,202          |
| Baptists                | 9,948          | 1,78  | 3,083          | 0,69  | 1,082                |       | 14,105           |
| Other Christ. Sects     | 8,933          | 1,60  | 14,108         | 3,15  | 11,126               |       | 34,167           |
| <b>Totals</b>           | <b>557,773</b> |       | <b>447,314</b> |       | <b>339,411</b>       |       | <b>1,344,498</b> |
| Total number Christians |                |       |                |       |                      |       |                  |
| Kaffirs and Bechuanas   | 1,114,067      |       | 290,644        |       | 26,08% or one-fourth |       |                  |
| Fingos                  | 310,720        |       | 156,670        |       | 50,42% or one-half   |       |                  |
| Basutos, in Basutoland  | 348,848        |       | 50,838         |       | or one-seventh       |       |                  |

<sup>289</sup> Andrew Murray, *The Kingdom of God in South Africa. A Survey of Missions to the Heathen, South of the Zambesi*, Cape Town: SAGM, London: Nisbet, 1906, The above tables contain minor adding mistakes; I have not corrected them.

To interpret some of Murray's statistics: He found that One Quarter of the 'Kaffir and Bechuana' population claimed to be Christian; and that One Half of all Fingoes around King Williams Town and Stutterheim were members of the European – sponsored mission churches. Evangelizing the Natives had been most successful. The London Missionary Society with headquarters in Peelton (between Berlin and King), the Lutherans around Döhne-Stutterheim and Gutsche's Baptists had the lion's share in this.

Andrew Murray the younger and Hugo Gutsche sat together on missionary committees and were kindred souls. Both shared the fourfold passion of Missions, Education, Evangelism and Holy Living. In these four areas they crossed paths throughout their professional lives. Though Andrew was 15 years older, they took to each other because of the many similarities in their early humanistic and theological education in Europe. At the age of ten he started school in Aberdeen, Scotland and Utrecht, Holland and knew Thomas Chalmers, R.M. McCheyne and W.C. Burns of the Scottish Free Church personally. He was also enthusiastic about the evangelistic work of D.L. Moody, Ira D. Sankey and C.H. Spurgeon; some of their services he had attended. In his student days he visited Halle University and attended some lectures of Professor Tholuck whom he admired. He would have moved to Halle and Tholuck permanently but his father needed him urgently to look after the shepherd-less emigrant Afrikaans members between the Orange and Vaal Rivers. Andrew was a Keswick Convention speaker, in tune with the Pietists and radiated a mystic inner devoutness coupled with down to earth practical holiness. All this was most familiar to Gutsche. Both had a definite conversion experience (The 17 years' old Andrew wrote to his father on 14.11.1845 "I have been led to surrender myself wholly to Christ"). Thus, Gutsche and Murray were on the same wave length and purpose all the days of their active South African life.<sup>290</sup>

A very touching episode happened immediately after the end of the War and the signing of the Vereeniging peace treaty between England and the former Boer-Republic which bears witness to the friendship and esteem between these two church leaders: Gutsche reported the following

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<sup>290</sup> W.J. de Kock (ed), *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1968, p. 574-583.

incident, at the same time asking to help the poor survivors of the Boer War, which brought an overwhelming response. Within weeks £488 were received from Germany and handed over to Elder J.W. Odendaal, plus a further £182.14 from local sources.<sup>291</sup>

"Calamity of calamities! Distress and misery! When the Boer prisoners return they will find nothing but ruins. No horse, no ox, no grain ... Countless little wooden crosses are a reminder of the recent tragedies. Many try to forget the ravages of war and stretch out helping hands. For instance, at this year's conference we had two sons of the late J.D. Odendaal as delegates from Cornelia. We sent a telegramme of greetings and best wishes to the Dutch Reformed Synod which was meeting in Cape Town at the same time and received a friendly reply which made us so happy that we stood and sang "Blest be the tie that binds our hearts in Christian love." Two days later we read in the local paper that there had been an angry and hot debate about our telegram and it took a considerable time until a small majority of the Synod could force a friendly reply to our prayerful wishes."

In the 'Handelingen der Twintigste Vergadering van de Synode ... gehouden in de Kaapstad op Donderdag den 15<sup>den</sup> October 1903' we find the following entries

"Telegrammen worden gelezen ... van de Predikanten en Aggevaardigden van de Baptisten Unie thans te Johannesburg zitting houdende" (p. 10) and

"Eene Commissie wordt benoemd ... die de Telegrammen, ontvangen ... van de Baptisten Unie nu te Johannesburg zitting hondende, zal beantwoorden" (p 12).

The moderator Ds J.H. Hofmeyr occupied the chair and Andrew Murray was one of the committee members. No mention is made in the minutes about the 'heated debate' on which the journalists of the local newspaper reported.

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<sup>291</sup> Executive report 14 Conference Minutes 1903, p. 1,2,4 & *Wahrheitszeuge* 1903, p. 95 & 386.

## Territorial and Institutional Expansion of Baptist Missions

Two years after the formation of the SA Baptist Mission Society, and while Tshabo struggled on after John Adam's death, things moved slowly until the clouds were rent and a sunbeam appeared to the infant society in the form of a very remarkable miracle: Seven ladies and several men arrived from Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, out of the blue and uninvited. All of a sudden Gutsche had more than fifteen missionaries on his hands from "down under." They felt called and led of God to do missionary labour in South Africa.

"Why South Africa and not India, China, the Congo or some other country where British, French or German Societies were already well established? We are sure that JJ Dok was behind this. This missionary-hearted preacher from Bristol, Cape Town, Graaff Reinet and Johannesburg went to Christchurch New Zealand from 1894 to 1901 and blew the missionary trumpet so loud and clearly, at every conference, Baptist Union Assemblies and in many a sermon that young people of the Southern Continent caught his enthusiasm and heard God's call to South Africa.<sup>292</sup>

These Australians and New Zealanders were so keen and consecrated that the early Committee with Hay, King, Batts, Gutsche and others were forced to do some daring things. On paper it did not make sense and was certainly not a business proposition but faith in God's promises made all the difference. It worked! Within two decades there were Baptist stations and schools in all four provinces, a tremendous expansion from the small beginnings of Tshabo. Several missionaries came out from India and worked among their Telugu compatriots in Natal where tens of thousands had been indentured from India and Mauritius to work at the sugar mills and tea estates of Sir Liege and Lady Hulett. For a long time the centre of their work was at Kearsney near Stanger on the North Coast. Then the work spread to Durban itself and the Southern parts of Natal.<sup>293</sup> After another two decades South African born missionaries joined the

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<sup>292</sup> William E. Cursons, *Joseph Doke, the Missionary-Hearted*. Johannesburg: Christian Literature Depot, 1929, p. 87-106.

<sup>293</sup> Hudson-Reed 1983, p. 272-274; Sydney Hudson-Reed, *Channels for 100 Years of Missionary Endeavour 1892-1992*, South African Baptist Historical Society, 1992, p. 18.



expatriates (like Hugo Peinke and Ben Pape, the latter being the 18th and youngest child of the pioneers Carl and Louise Pape).

By then most mission stations had their own schools, hospitals and clinics. Kafulafuta and Fiwale Hill in Lambaland, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) had boarding schools up to Matriculation level, and training college facilities for post-matrics.<sup>294</sup> On many stations operations and surgery were performed, extensive leprosy treatment was undertaken, the Lamba received their own Bible, fully translated by Professor Dr Clemence Doke, their missionary immediately after the second world war. In the Harding district of Pondoland thriving school and clinical work was established and flourishing until the South African Government by decree took over all mission schools soon after 1960 to make sure that strict Apartheid Laws were implemented. Because of the language barriers several additional Bible Institutes and Theological Colleges had to be started: In the Transvaal it was Orlando, and for the Cape the Ennals Institute at Berlin. In both cases the language of instruction had to be English, because even among themselves the Blacks could not always communicate with each other. In any case, originally all textbooks were only available in English. However, our missionaries made Xhosa, Zulu and Lamba translations of many hymns and wrote basic theological books. Refresher courses and retreats for lay preachers, school teachers and pastors were scheduled regularly, at least twice a year. All this was most rewarding but very difficult work.<sup>295</sup>

Today, a century later, there are hundreds of indigenous missionaries on the lists, most of them converts from earlier workers. The vision of Gutsche and his helpers has produced abundant fruits; the original tree spread into many branches which cover large fields.

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<sup>294</sup> \*For the work there (and further Baptist work in Zambia) see: Reinhard Frey, *History of the Zambia Baptist Association 1905-2005*, Zomba: Kachere, 2009.

<sup>295</sup> Extensive coverage and 97 excellent photos of staff, hospitals, churches and ministers are found in J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942 and T.S. Akers, *Baptist Research Volume 5 - South African Baptists involved in missions to the other than white groups in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: South African Baptist Historical Society, 1978..

Just before Carl Hugo Gutsche died in 1926, his successor, the Rev Joseph A. Baier, wrote an article in "Der kleine Sendbote," the magazine of the German Baptists in South Africa, "*Zwei wichtige Fragen für unser Baptistenwerk in Südafrika*."<sup>296</sup>

"I represented the German Bund at the Baptist Union Executive- and Mission meetings from 13 -16 June 1925. Two important questions claimed our attention and caused much debate. They also concern our German churches because we closely cooperate with the English brethren in all matters of missions and extension. "*Question One:* How can we become more effective on our existing mission stations and institutions? To move into new areas is out of the question; we don't even have enough funds to honour our present commitments. Most of our mission fields are only half staffed because there is no money. Even the most stringent economic measures did not prevent our Society to incur a debt of £400 this year just to pay the stipends of our present skeleton staff. So many splendid young men and women beg us to join our ranks and work in our fields but we have to turn them down because of financial constraints. We cannot afford to continue like this, our conscience troubles us; we are letting God down, He cannot be pleased with us. There is only one remedy for the English, Dutch and German Baptists: To seek earnestly personal and spiritual renewal, resulting in more consecrated and generous giving. We need to pray for a wave of revival which will increase our membership and numbers of churches countrywide. Which leads to "*Question Two:* How can we increase the membership and churches in our Baptist Union of South Africa? For some time now many of us think we need an ordained minister as a full time General Secretary who will devote himself to the welfare and expansion of our denomination. He would visit especially the small and struggling churches and those without a pastor, and encourage, evangelise and organise our people. He would discover new areas and towns where we could establish new churches among the European population to broaden our support base for missions. This would bring untold benefits to our work and witness. Most of us are enthusiastic, some have doubts and reservations. Five brethren from our English churches have pledged to finance such a new post of General Secretary for two years, out of their own pockets. After this initial

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<sup>296</sup> *Der kleine Sendbote*, Vol II Sept 1925 "Two important questions about our Baptist work in South Africa" (my translation).

period the whole denomination need to stand behind this new venture and pay all expenses. I personally believe that after those two years of trial and learning we will be convinced of the merits of this scheme and continue. The Executive of the Baptist Union has therefore proposed that the office of a General Secretary be created.

"Both the above questions will be on the agenda of the forthcoming Assembly in East London this September. As we German churches will have a strong representation in East London it is clear that our vote and attitude will more or less decide the whole issue. I hope we will support this proposal, because the welfare and growth of our churches and mission work will depend on it."

The letter above and the statistical tables by Gutsche and Murray make it clear that fifty years after the Baptists had started mission work in South Africa they were still one of the smallest societies in the country, with a dozen or so workers and less stations, members and pupils than other denominations. The main reason for this was that most German and British Settlers were poverty-stricken and had to fight for survival, build their homes and establish a future for their own families first. Their support base for additional activities and expenses was very small. The Methodists, Anglicans and Congregationalists, however, received huge sums of money, manpower and support from England, the Continent and America, while the Baptists were financing and staffing their work from meager local resources. They didn't even have a full-time organiser such as a general secretary.

## **Gutsche as Educator**

### ***Systematic Instruction in German Schools and Churches***

Gutsche's ministry was three-pronged: Church planting, Missions, and Education. All three aspects were already mentioned during the very first meeting with his people over Christmas 1867. Nine months later his diary states that schools had been started in King Williams Town, Frankfurt, Breitbach, Berlin and Keiskama Hoek. He was the founder, chairman, secretary and member of schoolboards, at one time or another, of more than 38 German and English public or private schools. Miss Harding reports in October 1869 from Breitbach that regular tests produce surprising results. In addition, all Sunday Schools held Scripture examina-

tions and reading exercises. Blackboards were being installed in all churches, halls and school cottages.<sup>297</sup> At his Golden Wedding celebrations in King Williams Town on 6 December 1917 which was also the 50th anniversary of his arrival in South Africa, in his response to the many kind speeches and congratulations, he had this to say pertaining to schools (among nine other points):

"At my arrival I found that old and young people were incapable to read or write. I saw that assistance was urgently needed. Parents could not conduct family worship, children were unable to read the Word of God, although the command of our Master is distinct 'Search the Scripture for they testify of me!' I then became connected with school work for 49 years."<sup>298</sup>

It took much patient spadework and almost a whole generation till writing, spelling and reading slowly improved. Here are some examples taken at random from letters and documents: (Correct spelling is given in *ITALIC*)

"December den 19—(Dezember)

Her Brediger ich Bin zu frieden  
Mid der Drauing Mied M Taahns  
und Meinr Dochder Heinrich  
Lirbrrum"

*Herr Prediger, ich bin zufrieden  
mit der Trauing von Mr.  
Taahns und meiner Tochter -  
Heinrich Liebrum*

This sample clearly indicates that Mr Liebrum came from Saxony; he writes phonetically, exactly as the Saxons would "*sächseln*" (speak in Saxon dialect). It also suggests that he never went to school to learn the basics of spelling.

"Hannover den 13 April 1891    Mr Gutsche

Ich gebe hier mit meine ein  
willigung das meine Techter  
Louise Sergel sich verheiratet mit  
Mr T Clarke von King

*Ich gebe hiermit meine  
Einwilligung, dass meine Tochter  
Louise Sergel sich verheiratet mit  
Mr T Clarke von King*

Williams Town H Sergel"

"King Williams Town January 1892

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<sup>297</sup> Diary Suppl July 1870:40.

<sup>298</sup> Diary Dec 1917 and original notes of his speech in the Gutsche files.

Diese hat zu benachrichtigen Dass  
Unsere Tochter Caterina Johanna  
Petzer hat Unser Zustimmung um mit  
August Birkholtz im Ehestand zu  
treten, Vater H Petzer, Mutter +  
(S Petzer)" <sup>299</sup>

*Wir haben zu berichten, dass  
unsere Tochter Catarina Johanna  
Petzer unsere Zustimmung hat,  
mit August Birkholtz in den  
Ehestand zu treten.*

As a matter of fact, until 1880 more than half the official declarations and documents were written by Hugo Gutsche himself or other elders, deacons and business men and then signed by the persons concerned. The reason for this was simple: Most Settlers could hardly read or write German and were confused when English was required. By 1885 significant developments were reported. Through the efforts of Gutsche and Mr Malcomess, a prominent local merchant, the German Lutheran and Baptist schools combined to form the united Queens Street School at King Williams Town. Two teachers from Germany were engaged, and the two ministers each gave two hours religious instruction every week. In Keiskama Hoek the two German ministers also agreed to cooperate which revived a struggling cause.<sup>300</sup> In East London similar events led to the amalgamation of the Lutheran and Baptist schools which were taken over by Rev (soon to be Dr) Hugo Gutsche jr who resigned after 10 years' ministry with the Porter Street Baptists and was made director of the new Park Ave German School, only to become 'unemployed' when the Government closed all German schools on 1 January 1915 as a result of the Great War. At the outbreak of hostilities Park Ave had 6 classes, 7 teachers and 165 pupils.<sup>301</sup>

"When the School Board ordinance was passed in 1906, Pastor Gutsche was elected a member of the first School Board, King Williams Town. In his work he was ably supported by his wife whose interest in social work and music (singing) at a time when church

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<sup>299</sup> The mother S Petzer cannot write at all which is indicated by the + in place of her signature.

<sup>300</sup> Church Minutes 28 Sept 1878:4 & 28 Dec 1878:20; 28 Jun 1884:360 & 27 Sep 84:371.

<sup>301</sup> Minutes 27 Jun 1915:217.

organs were uncommon, served to encourage church choirs in town and country"<sup>302</sup>

There was another urgent reason why the German schools needed upgrading and more efficiency because the "Holy Sisters" had started the "Holy Trinity School" in King Williams Town on the most attractive terms. This was viewed as serious competition; "How many impressionable boys and girls would be wooed away into the bosom of the Anglican Church."<sup>303</sup>

Encouraged by events in the mother church of Kaffraria, the Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk of Elder Odendaal at Sugarloaf Cornelia reported in January 1890 that they had also started a day school for their many children of white and coloured origin. All reports of the regular visits of circuit inspectors were meticulously filed and made known to the churches by Gutsche, together with financial statements and applications for teaching posts or bursaries. All this makes for interesting reading. Here are two examples:

Letter to Carl Hugo Gutsche Esq. 16.12.1910:

"I can assure you that the Board appreciates the work which you and your Staff have carried on so thoroughly and unobtrusively for many years. I will go further and say that the Department recognises the value of Queens Street School as an educational institution, and could with difficulty produce a finer set of reports from their inspectors and instructors ... I might add that the policy of the Board is to "let well alone" and not to interfere with well conducted institutions, but I would ask you to believe that this does not imply any lack of appreciation or interest. - I must thank you for your unfailing courtesy in all our dealings and I earnestly wish you every success in the future. (signed) Wm G Robertson, M.A.,CRA.

Secretary King Wlms.T. Schoolboard"

Another inspector's report dated 9 12 1912 reads

"The results were good. In the senior classes an improvement was noticed in composition and arithmetic ... It is sad to go into this school and miss the kindly presence of one who for so many years in the face of physical ill-health devoted his life's energy to the good of

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<sup>302</sup> Burton Scrapbook 1957, p. 33, quote from "Kaffrarian Watchman nd."

<sup>303</sup> Church Minutes 28 Jun 1896:332

his pupils. Mr. Jaeger's influence will last, for the boys and girls who knew him, will always remember the shining honesty of their old teacher and his abhorrence of all that was mean and low. The town is indeed the poorer for his death."

Mr Jaeger was principal and headmaster for nearly 27 years when he died from an undisclosed illness.

After about 15 years of intensive school work Gutsche could say that illiteracy among all German Lutheran and Baptist families was diminishing. The 1858/59 Settlers had become, mainly through his efforts, learning and school-going communities; parents learnt from their children, and together they read and wrote, mostly from the Bible and other devotional literature which was more readily available, at affordable prices. The English schools and Native Missions also made great strides in Kaffraria and Transkei, notably Lovedale, Peelton, Mount Coke, and the comprehensive Methodist institution Healdtown College near Adelaide-Fort Beaufort, as documented in Gutsche's United Mission Statistics from 1884-1889. All had some outstanding pedagogues at work.

Around 1885, however, a disconcerting threat raised its ugly head and worried the leaders. Several children could no longer speak, read or understand German properly but used a mixture of German and English.<sup>304</sup>

In the "Manual for the Baptist Churches in South Africa we read."<sup>305</sup>

"The existence of our German Churches depends on the state and conservation of our mother tongue. It is a sad fact that parents allow their children to speak to them, and among themselves, in English, even at home. It is the sacred duty of parents to insist on German as the home medium, even more so, when there is too little of it in school."

"We must be proud of our German language. Many English people spend much time and money for their children to study German, but we are born with it, get it for free and dare not neglect our mother tongue! It is time for us to study and qualify for better things. Our children should become teachers and other professionals. We should

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<sup>304</sup> Church Minutes 27 Mar 1885:399.

<sup>305</sup> Handbüchlein 1929, p. 23 & 29.

no longer be forced to import ministers and leaders from Germany and America. Instead of sending money to Germany we ought to send our young men to Hamburg Seminary to study for the ministry."<sup>306</sup>

Since then every Conference has the "German Language" and her problems at home and school on its agenda. Brother G. Meier at the XII Bund Konferenz 26-28 Mar 1897:36-37 gave a paper on "The Preservation of our German Mother Tongue as a priceless heritage"; his original manuscript is found at the end of the Conference report. The proceedings were printed by Oncken Hamburg 1897, 42 pages, and freely distributed to all Kaffrarian Bund Churches. Here are some quotes from Meier's address:

"Nothing is more deplorable than the dreadful mixture of German with English by which our mother tongue is being tortured beyond endurance. We quote the following sample *"Wo is my gestreift shirt? Dit is my stepbruder. Have you a bleistift? Die Kuh is over das fence gejump't.*

The "Jugend Herold" makes the same point by a rather powerful poem:

"Bekanntlich gibt es hier zu Land  
Viel, die sich Deutsche nennen,  
Die aber, ei, welch grosse Schand'  
Kein Wort deutsch lesen können.  
Auch ist die Sprache gar zu schlecht,  
Die solche Deutsche führen.  
BOOTJACK nennt man den Stiefelknecht,  
Und SPELLEN das Buchstabieren.  
Der Gaul hat aber arg GEKICKT,  
Die CHICKS haben laut gekrischen  
Ich hab' zum WINDOW 'nausgeblickt,  
Mein FRED sah ich beim Fischen.  
WELL, ruft nun den DADDY rein,  
Ich hab' das BREAKFAST READY.  
Lass doch das viele WIPPEN sein,  
Die HORSES ziehen STEADY.  
"Ist es nicht eine Schand' und Schmach,  
Dass man sich nicht genieret,

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<sup>306</sup> XI Konferenz Minutes 29-31 Mar 1895:4 & 12.



Und unsre schöne deutsche Sprach'  
So schauderhaft traktieret.  
Drum, deutsche Eltern, nah und fern,  
Wollt meine Bitte hören,  
Und Eure Kinder hier zu Land  
Die reine Sprache lehren."

The fight for the German language and the purity of the same was lost during and after the First World War. All German schools were closed countrywide by Government decree on 1st January 1915. To be of German nationality was a handicap. One did no longer speak German in the market places or public offices. It seemed advisable to switch to Afrikaans or English when on official business or when strangers were present.

Gutsche's files and church minutes cover almost 60 years of many humorous or sad stories which the committees had to digest. Once a prescribed story book was the subject of a lengthy debate:

"Brother Carl Pape (he is the father of 18 children) wants to change our school books because the present ones contain fables and fairy tales which are untrue stories. As Christian parents we want to give our children healthy food and not troublesome weeds, he says. For instance, there is the fairy tale of Frau Holle, the old woman who is plucking her geese above which makes it snow here below. That's just like husks which the pigs are eating. The Bible is the best school book."

"Pastor Gutsche entered the debate by stating that everything can be used or misused; one may easily suck poison or honey out of a book. Some young people even misuse the Bible when they look up certain passages which arouse their lusts and sensuality. Doesn't Mr Pape know that the Bible contains fables and fairy tales? For instance the story about the trees which wanted to elect a king (Judges chapter 9) and a similar one in 2 Ki 14,9? Further, every English primer has fairy tales. No reader will satisfy everyone. If two Baptists were to compile one, they would not agree on every item."<sup>307</sup>

In 1924, ten years after the start of the Great War, the editor Pastor Paul Rode of Porter Street Baptist Church in East London, printed an article in "Der kleine Sendbote" under the two headings (1) We Baptists do not

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<sup>307</sup> Konferenz Minutes D 24-25 June 1882:5-7.

engage in political Germanness; (2) God's Kingdom takes precedence over our German nationality.

It clearly shows the shift in emphasis and policy, caused by the devastating events during and after the Great War. Rode states that the German language and German schools, dear and precious as they are for the preservation of our heritage, might have to be relegated to an inferior position for the benefit of the Kingdom of God:

"We are no longer pilgrims and strangers in South Africa. Most of us became citizens in this adopted country. It would be very wrong to engage actively in German politics. God's Word tells us to submit to the powers that be, pray for our Government and seek the best of the city where we live.

"We can not say 'We are Germans first and Baptists after that'. For us, the fostering of German culture and ways is only a means to build the Kingdom of God. Should it be more advantageous for the growth and health of our churches and missions to sacrifice the German language and customs, for instance by having our services in the English language, we would without hesitation change our policy. The Bible is quite clear on that. Paul says 'I am a Jew to the Jews, became a Greek to the Greek, all because of the Gospel, that I by all means might win some for the Kingdom' 1 Cor 9:20-23. This does not mean that we despise our heritage and roots in Germany. Our German language, culture, science, poetry, literature and folksongs are priceless."<sup>308</sup>

This was one of the most sensible decisions taken by the German Baptists in South Africa, for by catering for the young people who had lost much of their German through the closure of their schools, they remained where they belonged and did not run to the Methodists or Anglicans. The Lutherans had to pay dearly for their insistence on the status quo: For many years German was the only permitted language for all their activities. They lost more than half their young people to English or Afrikaans churches. To the Baptists the Gospel was more important than the language, and reaching people for Christ better than preserving Germanism.

A last valiant effort for theboosting and preservation of the German language was undertaken around 1925. Rev J.A. Baier, the successor to

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<sup>308</sup> 'Der kleine Sendbote' Oct 1924, p. 9-10.

Carl Hugo Gutsche after his retirement in 1920, asked the question: "Können unsere Kinder vor dem Verenglischen durch deutschen Unterricht in den Schulen gerettet werden?"<sup>309</sup>

They approached the General Superintendent of Education Dr Viljoen (18 June 1925) who was sympathetic but could not supply the necessary qualified teachers of German for the schools, even up to Standard IV inclusive. It would take many years to train them in the Paarl and King Williams Town Colleges.<sup>310</sup>

The writing was on the wall. Thirty years later, after the Second World War, Gutsche's German Churches joined the English, Afrikaans and Black members of the Baptist Union, for the sake of the Gospel and a more effective Baptist witness in the country. All which remains are several excellent German private schools in the main cities of South Africa which are being substantially supported by the German Government.

Perhaps it is a purely academic question to ask in which of the three areas Gutsche was best, or which office he thought to be the most important one: pastor, missionary or educator? The records show that he was absolutely committed to all branches of his work, with body, mind and soul, enjoying every aspect of the ministries to the full. One finds it difficult to compare or scale his activities by saying he was better in preaching than pastoring or teaching. He came across differently to different people. Professor Foot at Cape Town University said to his students "In his preaching he was a man full of enthusiasm verging on the supernatural." Others thought the cemeteries were his favourite hobby.

The events discussed in this chapter clearly show that *Gutsche did not practise "a privatised and selfish type of religion, lacking social concern and deliberately avoiding the public sphere" as Dr Kretzschmar alleges.* On the contrary, he was a true catalyst who converted his people from ignorance, illiteracy and poverty to empowered and worthy citizens of South Africa. Mary's and Hugo's social and public contributions are beyond dispute or question.

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<sup>309</sup> If we could teach through the medium of German in our schools, would our children be prevented from getting anglicised?

<sup>310</sup> 'Der kleine Sendbote' Sept 1925, p. 139-140.

## **Chapter 4: End of the Pioneer Period and the Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (1896 - 1905)**

After thirty years of relentless efforts, when he had not spared himself, and almost forty years after the arrival of the German Settlers and the start of the Frankfurt Baptist Church, it became clear that the pioneer period had ended for Gutsche, who as an ecclesiastical statesman had laid the foundations and built a solid structure upon it according to New Testament principles and Oncken's *modus operandi*.

But slowly the third generation of Baptists was up and coming, speaking of changes and wondered whether certain rules were still relevant. The proverbial generation gap was emerging, extreme poverty had been overcome and memories and personal connections with the old homeland were fading somewhat. When Gutsche arrived in 1867 they were extremely grateful and, like struggling couples, stuck together. But when prosperity knocked at the door, a mere handful of members developed selfish and critical attitudes, and in the process love flew out of the window.

The Frankfurt and Keiskama Hoek controversies have been mentioned earlier. Two or three other examples may suffice: At the 4<sup>th</sup> Bund Konferenz 24-25 June 1882 some hurting and humiliating remarks from a Frankfurt church meeting were reported and discussed. "Because pastor and Mrs Riemer's passage money from the USA had been paid in full, they have to do what we tell them. We paid only £34 for Mr Gutsche and nothing for his wife, so they do what they like." The delegates were shocked and compared Frankfurt with the outlawed "slave traders." "Our tithing and monies we give to the LORD and have no right to claim it back. Do we blame a doctor for the fee he charges, to make me better? The few shillings we paid for our ministers we have received back a hundredfold and that with interest." Brother Kreusch sen remarked. Great appreciation was then expressed for the services of the two pastors and resolved

"that a minister is bound for a period of six months to the church which called him and paid for his passage money. If in future more such unkind statements are circulated, the members concerned will

be cautioned and brought before the church for admonition." Carried unanimously.

At least two other problems reared their ugly head almost from the beginning. As an arbitrator and justice of peace it was inevitable in the nature of things that sometimes the losing parties did not agree with his rulings and turned against him. Some others were plain jealous of the well educated and cultured pastoral family who were clearly a cut above the Settler farmers. Two Frankfurt members retorted "We have to walk, why must our minister on his horse proudly ride past us?"<sup>311</sup> These examples could be multiplied. It became more and more difficult for Gutsche to keep his finger on the pulse of the many churches and remain a father and peacemaker in each and every case. There were now too many members to be looked after and satisfy everybody. When they were a team of four ministers after 1890, Gutsche found it difficult to adjust and let go. He had been in charge for so long and put his stamp on all the churches that Preuss, Riemer and Schmidt soon felt their own initiative threatened; frequently Gutsche was stifling their own style. This chapter will bring enough incidents to substantiate these observations. When someone was dissatisfied with pastor Riemer, he might complain to Gutsche—or vice versa.

Fortunately, he avoided any scandal. No one within or outside the church could fault his character or his quest for holy living, or accuse him of acquiring dishonest gain. In this chapter we will show how he faced the storms of strife and dissention and how his family helped to overcome frustration and darkness till the light broke through once more.

## **Gutsche and his Family**

His interests were not restricted to narrow or parochial issues only, but his vision and work included civic, international and interdenominational affairs. He gave time and attention to a multitude of tasks.

All the more surprising and gratifying it is to see how in between the many official trips and duties he managed to give quality time to his wife Mary and their growing family. In the beginning she went with him on horse back, two horses trotting or flying across the veld; later they rode

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<sup>311</sup> Minutes King Wms Town 27 June 1879:54

in a cart, up to six or eight of the family. – They had seven children in twelve years (five sons and two daughters):

1. Hugo \*18 July 1869
2. Jonas \*3 April 1871 (died Good Friday 7.4.1871)
3. Philipp \*5 May 1872
4. Juanita \*4 May 1874
5. Clemens \*13 Januar 1876
6. Hulda \*13 June 1878
7. Jesse \*11 June 1881

The diary entries during the crisis week from Palm Sunday 2 April to Tuesday after Easter 11 April 1871 demonstrate how his daily battles were fought and won and how family and churches received their proper care whatever the circumstances. It further shows that in his fourth year in South Africa he was just as busy and conscientious as during the first ten days over Christmas 1867. In fact, he never slackened for fifty years except when away on holiday; only then he would relax and unwind. His diaries over 60 years give a faithful record of what they did, where they went and who visited them:

*Sunday 2 April ...* In the afternoon I preached in KWT on the 'Day of the Son of Man' Luke 17,23. Deneke, Rau & family, Sprenger, Katzke & wife & Mrs Borell & children came. was very sick toward evening (sic).

*Monday 3rd April:* Mary began with labour pains after 7 and at 11.45 (noon time) our 2nd son was born (Jonas). I had very little sleep during the night. Sprenger sr & jr, Mrs Wand, Katzke, O Donian & wife & Deneke visited.

*Tuesday 4 April:* I attended to Mary. Sister Bauer left us, for her husband was rather sick, but Bertha Pape came to stay with Mary. I went to Breidbach to visit the sick & gave my Bible Class as usual. Anna Mattig, Mrs Katzke, Knickelbein & daughter & sister Müller came.

*Wednesday 5 April:* I wrote and finished my letters, preached on Exodus 24 'Moses as Law Giver,' Mary had heavy afterpains. Sister Sparg, Deneke & wife & Mrs Ward came.

*Thursday 6 April:* Attended to Mary and baby who was not at all well. I wrote several letters, finished some sketches on sermons and attended my poor sick wife. Garz & others came.

*GOOD FRIDAY 7 April 1871:* I went to Breidbach to preach & had a Deacons Meeting. Returned and found baby very bad. *He died before sunset.* I had to arrange several things for the burial. Mary was a little better. I wrote several letters & looked after the coffin. (sic)

*Saturday 8 April:* I conducted the funeral service for our baby, returned and nursed my Mary. Grapentin, Schultz, Baum, Mrs Wand, Ballack & W Birkholtz came.

*Easter Sunday 9 April:* Prepared for the sermon & started with Mrs O Donian, preached at Breidbach in the morning, followed by the Lord's Supper and went home to attend my sick Mary. But I have peace and joy. John 14,1-3. (sic)

*Easter Monday 10 April:* I wrote and forwarded some letters, went to Hannover to conduct a church meeting (Rüsteberg versus Wårneke & Kraemer jnr.) Got wet thoroughly. Mary not at all well.

*Easter Tuesday 11 April 1871:* I got sick in the night & vomited till noon, but felt a little better after a sleep. My health is really broken down. Anje Gernetzki, Ehrkesen, Mrs Andre & sister Lorentz visited us."

After seven years of sacrificial service to his flock, not sparing himself, he felt utterly exhausted and spent, although only 35 years old and supposed to be in the prime of his life. He applied for sickleave and came to an agreement with the churches that every seven years the minister should be entitled to at least six months home leave and that each time a grant of £25 be paid to help with travelling expenses. Remembering that overseas trips required several weeks on the water, were risky and costly for a whole family (the return fare to Europe in those days was between £30 and £40 per person), this arrangement was most beneficial for both parties.

A slight home sickness for his native Germany never really left him. On the other hand, the task before them was so important and thrilling that the enthusiasm over the call to South Africa was stronger; they were in the right place. On the inside back cover of his 1867 diary he pasted the official 'Notice for Inland Postal Arrangements' and the 'Time Table of

Cape of Good Hope Mail Packet Services,' giving exact departure and arrival times of the Union Castle boats from Plymouth to Cape Town, and vice versa. Across this page he wrote (barely 3 months after his arrival)

"I wish one of this day's to start for Germany! How happy would I be!!!"<sup>312</sup>

His wife's home sickness was more severe. She suffered from a real 'culture shock,' so much so that she seriously considered to visit her mother in Hamburg one year after their arrival, for Christmas 1868. The change from the comfortable patrician mansion at home to the three small rooms of a lean-to shed with a single pitched roof attached to the side of a cottage in Taylor Street had been too much, until they moved into bigger premises at the end of January 1868 when things improved somewhat. There was not a single Baptist family living in King; her only new close friend Mrs Oscar Donian had moved to Aliwal North which increased her loneliness: "Please come down to King and cheer me up" she wrote. Her husband Oscar replied

"Liebe Schwester, ich muss auf Ihre Zeilen antworten, obwohl ich fürchte, dass Sie es mir übel nehmen, aber wenn Sie auch böse werden so weiss ich ja aus Erfahrung, dass es nicht lange dauert ... Das Kommen meiner Frau ist nur möglich, wenn wir eine *gute* und *billige* Gelegenheit finden ... Dass Sie gerade zu Weihnachten nach Hamburg wollen, muss ich Ihren Mann bitten, es nicht zu zu geben. Denken Sie daran, dass eine solche Klima Änderung Ihrer Gesundheit schaden würde, ja sogar den Tod herbei führen könnte. Sie sollten im Sommer 1869 dort ankommen, dann könnte ich vielleicht sogar mitfahren ... Wie gerne würden wir jetzt persönlich kommen, um beim Umziehen zu helfen, statt diesen Brief zu schreiben. Ihr Oscar Donian."<sup>313</sup>

Nothing came of the badly desired 1868/69 visit to Hamburg, for Mary Gutsche fell pregnant forthwith and gave birth to her first son Hugo on 18 July 1869. This happy event replaced her home sickness somewhat.

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<sup>312</sup> Sic, but one year later his English grammar and spelling were nearly faultless.

<sup>313</sup> Original undated and shortened letter in Gutsche's file; I corrected several spelling mistakes.



After six and a half years in Kaffraria he took his wife and the three children Hugo (5), Philipp (2) and Juanita (3 months) and sailed to Plymouth and Germany. They were away from Kaffraria from August 1874 to July 1875, which was his salvation. In Germany he received medical advice and help, spiritual renewal and bodily restoration. They went four more times, in 1880, 1886, 1897 and 1911. Day to day entries in his diary, letters and reports make interesting reading and are a fascinating travel journal.

Gutsche knew that without these breaks he could not sustain his taxing and important ministries year after year. He just needed these periodic holidays to rejuvenate himself and get fresh ideas and a wider vision. It is on record that these home leaves were most beneficial for minister and churches. He began each new term with showers of blessings and good harvests. For instance, after his furlough in 1880 he baptised 46 converts within weeks while Pastor Riemer in Berlin gained 36; a further 26 people were added. The King Williams Town membership rose from 235 to 283 and the Berlin one from 235 to 276.<sup>314</sup>

On their first visit in 1874/75, apart from the thrills and excitement of showing off the children to grandparents and friends, they all enjoyed the moderate Continental climate after the South African heat. The children had their first taste of snow skiing and ice skating. Christmas was celebrated on a dark and cold winter's night. It was all so different.

Sadly, there was also a heartbreaking experience: Oncken and his German Baptists were in a crisis. There were serious quarrels and splits between him and some among his 13 deacons. Altona rebelled and withdrew with 148 members from the mother church. Friends and co-workers were at loggerheads. All fellowship was destroyed. Hurtful pamphlets and stubborn replies were freely circulated countrywide, mainly on the questions of total local independence or interdependence, on the (limited or unlimited) authority of elders and proper election procedures. Oncken was embittered and felt rejected, betrayed and misunderstood. He eventually withdrew to Switzerland. It hurt Mary Lange-Gutsche to see her stepfather and guardian so honoured and despised at the same time. It was painful for Hugo Gutsche that his

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<sup>314</sup> Minutes 25.12.1881:211-213.

mentor and spiritual hero was embroiled in controversy.<sup>315</sup> Gutsche brought back the relevant documents, letters, circulars and Conference Minutes which are in a special Hamburg-Harburg file. But apart from this sobering experience all went very well for the whole family.

In February 1880 he took his two sons Hugo Jr and Philipp (11 and 8 years old) to enrol them at the Royal Luisen Gymnasium of Memel East Prussia while Mary looked after the other three children (six, four and two years of age). They wanted them to receive the very best education. English ex-patriates would send their children to Oxford, so why should not Gutsche bring his sons to Germany to prepare them for a professional career? As it turned out, Hugo Jr, after further studies in Theology and Philosophy at Halle, London, Leipzig and Erlangen, became a Baptist pastor in East London, South Africa, then teacher and principal of several schools and eventually, after having obtained his doctorate in Philosophy and Education from the German University of Erlangen, he was Inspector of Education in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.<sup>316</sup>

Philipp Gutsche took a little Theology and Philosophy but then switched to medicine at Halle, Munich, Berlin, Vienna and Erlangen, after which he graduated as Dr medicinae universae magna cum laude.<sup>317</sup>

Initially, as from 1880, they would live with their uncle and aunt. Johannes Andreas Gülzau was pastor of the Memel Baptist Church and had married Rosa Lange, sister of Mary Lange-Gutsche. They could have no children of their own, for the pastor had chosen, for reasons of his own, to allow himself to be sterilised. It is on record that up to his old age he possessed a lyrical high tenor voice of 'sopranic' quality. Their grandmother Martha Lange née Speight (born in England) was also in Memel to spend the autumn and winter of her life there.

"Those ten years as boarders with old uncle Andreas (70) and aunty Rosa (55) were extremely tough and bitter. The kind of discipline and treatment was well meant but insensitive and in the highest grade

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<sup>315</sup> Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: Oncken, 1934, p. 280-285).

<sup>316</sup> Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939, pp. 57-58.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid, pp. 63-65.

lacking of good judgment. All reading matter and correspondence from and to parents was strictly censored. Punishment through hunger cures, house arrests, or making them learn, write or recite Bible passages and verses of hymns were favourite means of discipline. No wonder that at times the two boys had thoughts of committing suicide."<sup>318</sup>

It was a relief when Hugo Jr could move to Halle University in 1889 and for Philipp to join him in 1890.

One of the highlights in their family life was the visit from February to the end of August 1886. This became the happiest of all overseas holidays. The parents and 4 children from South Africa came to Halle, Sophienstr 4, for the Golden Wedding of Johann Wilhelm Gutsche and his wife Marie Friederike on 24 April 1886. Hugo Jr and Philipp from Memel joined the family; it was the first time after six years that the parents saw their teenage boys and that all six children were together. What a happy reunion! This Golden Wedding trip was providential: Firstly, when they arrived in Memel Martha Lange, Mary's and Rosa's mother, died on 30 March 1886 (age 75). They were able to attend her funeral. Secondly, their two older sons, for the first time in six years, poured out their hearts in confidence as they cried before the parents over all the hurts and humiliations they had suffered. The boys agreed to stick it out for the remaining period and not run away or do foolish things. And finally, the Gutsche parents from King Williams Town were persuaded not to send their other children to Germany for schooling, as the Gülzau's were now too old to look after youngsters. They died in 1890 and 1895 respectively.

Both visits in 1880 and 1886 gave Mary and Hugo a splendid opportunity to introduce the children to beautiful Germany where their roots were. Father Gutsche walked with the older ones through Saxony, over the Harz Mountains and the Rennsteig trails (every excursion is described in his diary). This impressed them so much that during their later years the four Gutsche sons walked or cycled across Europe and fell in love with the Black Forest valleys and romantic towns of the Rhine and Moselle rivers with their charming fairy castles.

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<sup>318</sup> Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939, p. 42.

## Increasing Health Problems

When the family returned in September 1886, they thanked their people sincerely for the holiday and all the consideration during their absence. They reported on all family matters and Baptist affairs in Germany and added

"that the general health of their pastor left still much to be desired and is not as every one had hoped after the break and change of scenery. Specialists, professors and experts had agreed, that medically speaking, Hugo Gutsche's health could only improve in a colder climate; the South African subtropical air was too much of a strain for his physical frame. He was waiting upon the Lord for a clear indication what his next step should be. An invitation to become tutor at the Oncken Theological College in Hamburg he did decline."<sup>319</sup>

He fought a valiant battle but was often too weak to fight. As a trained pharmacist he knew how to look after himself but could not regain the necessary strength. In desperation he wrote a confidential letter to his brother-in-law Pastor Andreas Gülzau in Memel East Prussia:

King W.Town 17. Febr. 1891

"Dear Brother-in-Law! May I trouble you with the request not to mention the content of this letter to anyone including my own family? They must never know. My weakness increases rapidly. The slightest movement is an effort. I live with signs and attacks of paralysis and strokes constantly and am at least half an invalid. Whilst I needed two to four hours for the preparation of a sermon I now can't put a proper one together in as many days which means that I have no spare time for other things. I am keen and willing but my strength is gone. Even if I sit down I can not do anything worthwhile. After I hit a nail into the wall I have to pause for 15 to 20 minutes to catch my breath. Since my last trip to Germany in 1886 I can't do a thing in the house, yard and garden. My memory fails me so much that I forget what I wanted to do or say. However, the good Lord knows what He is doing and never makes a mistake or forgets me. He

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<sup>319</sup> Church Minutes 25 Sept 1886, p. 496.

is my portion and I will trust in Him. Your fellow-invalid and loving brother-in-law Hugo Gutsche.<sup>320</sup>"

After a few more years of hard work, not sparing himself, his health broke down altogether. On top of it, brothers Carl Franz and Ed Zerbe came repeatedly to complain about the sorry state of the church, serious back-sliding by several members and apathy of others who no longer took part in the life of the fellowship. Gutsche thanked them for their valid concern and acknowledged the need for revival and intensive prayer. But he could not do much more with his failing strength. He then told his church that he was ready to resign or work with a second minister as co-pastor, who would share the workload. He left the decision to them but made it clear that he could not carry on alone. Some suggested one year's sick leave, others voted for a second minister to help. The crisis came during the 11<sup>th</sup> Bund Konferenz at King when Pastor Charles Spurgeon of London, son of the famous late C.H. Spurgeon, was the honoured guest preacher. His sermon was "extraordinarily blessed" even without translation. Gutsche led the Communion service, after which he was so exhausted, both physically and emotionally, that he was unable to continue in the chair. "He would sit in on the deliberations and discussions as long as he had the strength."<sup>321</sup>

It was the very first time since his arrival in 1867 that someone else was directing the affairs of the churches from the chair. A new and disturbing experience indeed!

"On 27 Aug 1893 our pastor Gutsche fell from his horse hurting himself rather badly. Since then he grew weaker and weaker both physically and mentally. We therefore wrote to Germany for urgent help. Brother Louis Preuss from Vienna accepted our call and arrived just in time for the Conference."<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> German original in Gutsche File.

<sup>321</sup> Konferenz Minutes 29-31 March 1895.

<sup>322</sup> XI Konferenz Minutes 29-31 March 1895: 3-5, printed by Oncken Hamburg. – Did he suffer a stroke or fall asleep whilst riding home during that night from Bodiam near the Keiskama River mouth?

They worked together till April 1896, seemingly in good spirit. Both ministers recommended to carry on for a further trial year. In the meantime, Louis Preuss fell in love, first with the one, then with the other Gutsche daughter; both declined his advances which hurt his ego. At the same time, pastor Preuss sort of formed his own party by gathering a group of friends around him which led to strained relations between members and ministers and made thing difficult. Hugo Gutsche then sent a letter of qualified resignation to his church in the following terms:

"To the German Baptist Church at King Williams Town! Because of the deeply distressing events during the last quarter and after much heartsearching and prayer to find out the will of God for me and to prevent further divisions in the church, I am persuaded to resign as pastor and minister of the congregation if my people believe that my work is done and I no longer can be effective, or when, through my resignation peace and harmony will be restored in our church. Your deeply distressed and saddened (signed) Hugo Gutsche. King Williams Town September 1896."<sup>323</sup>

Hearing about the resignation of his senior colleague, Louis Preuss resigned as well. This was the last gust of wind for the troubled waters, making the ship to roll and wake up all passengers with a start. After many meetings and consultations both resignations were rejected. But Hugo Gutsche suffered so much that he could preach only twice during the last quarter of 1896, and *read* (instead of preaching) "Mühe's Revelation of God" on 8 Nov.<sup>324</sup> He asked for one year's sick leave which was readily granted. On 1 March 1897 he left East London on the Mail Boat Dunottar Castle, then boarded the "Herzog" in Durban for the voyage via the East Coast, Red Sea and Suez to Naples where he disembarked. By train he went to Rome, Florence, Milan, St Gotthard, Lucerne, Basel and arrived in Germany on 20 April, there to recover his former strength and spirits; after all, he was only 54 years old.<sup>325</sup>

Five days after his departure his young colleague Preuss handed in his resignation once more and thereafter pastored the German Baptist Church Mayfair Johannesburg, for a short while. Things there did not go

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<sup>323</sup> The original letter is pasted into the Minutes book 11:337.

<sup>324</sup> Diary.

<sup>325</sup> Details in his diary March-April 1897.

well either and soon there wasn't any money to pay his stipend. He returned to Hungary via Germany and was not heard of again.

Carl Hugo Gutsche, far away on furlough in Germany, tried to recover in body, mind and soul. He had specialist treatment, mainly at Quedlinburg, daily details of which are in his diary. His son Philipp, now well established as a medical practitioner at King Williams Town, kept his father well informed of developments and implored him to switch off completely and not to worry about the fightings in the church during his absence. He must think of his health first and foremost.<sup>326</sup> Meanwhile, the Preuss party was lobbying for signatures to put Hugo Gutsche on pension. The newspaper editors got wind of this and printed in the Kaffrarian Watchman on Monday 9 August 1897:

"The founder of most, if not all, German Baptist churches in this part of South Africa has been the Rev Hugo Gutsche snr ... He has been pastor, doctor, and lawyer to his flock ... Of recent years, however, health has somewhat failed him, and in recognition of this his people arranged a few months ago that he should make a trip to Germany and get the benefit of medical treatment and advice. This was no doubt very gratifying to their old pastor, but there are rumours in circulation which tend to mar this kindly and gracious act. What is said that whilst thus absent, a church meeting has decided to pension Mr Gutsche off and to enter into negotiations for securing a successor. One would have thought that his flock would have preferred to wait and see what the effect of the six months' rest and treatment would have been before they decided to put aside their old shepherd, for Mr Gutsche senr, with improved health ought to have many years to give to active labours in the Ministry to which he has devoted himself."

His wife and children assured him that the majority of the people remained loyal to him. When, however, he spotted a notice in "Der Wahrheitszeuge" No 32, 21 August 1897 page 256, it was as if a sledge hammer had come down upon his head. He read the following appeal:

"Our dear pastor and elder, brother H. Gutsche snr. has served us faithfully and sacrificially for the last 30 years. Unfortunately we have to pension him off as from the 1. Jan. 1898. We were also forced to

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<sup>326</sup> All his letters to Germany are in the Gutsche file.

accept the repeated resignation of Br L, Preuss. We need a new pastor urgently and would be most pleased, if the new man could start with us on the 1. Jan. 1898 to avoid our being without a shepherd. Acting for the church, Louis Preuss."

At the same time, Gutsche received a letter from his elder Gernetzky, dated King Williams Town 5 July 1897, with seventy five signatures assuring him of their loyalty; they protested against the position his 'misguided enemies' had taken:

that at a special church meeting with about 200 present a proposal was tabled, out of the blue, that "Pastor Gutsche should be pensioned off with £100 p a with immediate effect to be paid on the condition that he does not start a rival church." This letter from his supporters was meant to encourage him that less than 30 voted for his dismissal.<sup>327</sup>

This shocked him into action; he suddenly felt much better and ready for the fight. Not even ten horses could hold him back. He took the next available mailboat "General" from Dover on 28 August and was back in King Williams Town on 25 October 1897, four months before time, to face the music.<sup>328</sup> He found a divided church, but did not accept the 'compulsory retirement' offered by his disgruntled members. He courageously started a new church with those loyal to him and prospered even more, with restored vigour and strength.

He was supported in this new venture by many friends and also his well-established children: His son Philipp was a medical doctor in King and Hugo jnr pastor of the East London Porter Street Baptist Church. His daughter Juanita had been teaching music at Rhenish High School of Stellenbosch and then got married in 1896 to the District Forest Officer Johannes Elias Spurgeon Henkel. His younger daughter Hulda was a governess and later a music teacher until 1898 when she married Edward Hamilton Egan of the King Williams Town Standard Bank. Clemence Gutsche studied law and eventually became First Judge of the High Court of South West Africa. Jesse, his youngest child, was well on the way to

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<sup>327</sup> The full text is found in "Supplement" #3.

<sup>328</sup> Daily entries in his diary give stations and highlights of the trip via the Mediterranean Sea, Suez and East Coast of Africa; he writes on the 11 Sept "I have restless nights on account of church matters".



qualify as an analytical chemist with a degree of Dr phil naturalis, magna cum laude. He then became general manager of Cape Explosives at Somerset West and later builder and manager of the SA Pulp and Paper Industries in the Transvaal. – Those four younger children received their entire education in South Africa and were no longer taken to Germany. After some private tuition the girls attended the Girls High School and the two sons Dale College (both in King William's Town), then transferred to the S.A. College (later the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch). This shows the parents' satisfaction that during the 1880ies education policies and institutional standards in Kaffraria had advanced so much that overseas studies became unnecessary for basic and even post graduate levels.<sup>329</sup>

## **Division into Bethany and Emmanuel**

When Gutsche hurried back in 1897 from sick leave in Germany to his disturbed church it became clear to all that the pioneer period had ended and fundamental changes were inevitable. He was entering the final phase of his ministry in South Africa. He had started alone, a solitary one man unit, now, thirty years later, a team of eight men were working with, under, or—alas—against him.

All new arrivals, since Peter Riemer's coming to Berlin in 1874, had been told by Professor Rauschenbusch in America and J.G. Fetzer of Hamburg that, as young ordained ministers they were now fully qualified to get their own parish as soon as possible. They should not have to work under Hugo Gutsche. The time of absolutism was gone; old men must make room for the younger ones. It was unhealthy to be in the same church for 30 years, as the experience in Germany had shown, so the arguments went.<sup>330</sup> The results were obvious; Riemer, Schmidt and Preuss soon managed to find willing ears for their novel ideas and 'better ways'. The ideal opportunity came for young Louis Preuss to get rid of his senior pastor when he was away in Germany on sick leave. In addition, Pastor Martin Schmidt of Stutterheim had set his eyes on Porter Street East London, patiently waiting to displace their pastor Hugo Gutsche jun. At

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<sup>329</sup> All these particulars were taken from Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children; Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939.

<sup>330</sup> Fetzer's letters are in the Gutsche File.

that crucial meeting on 5 July 1897, with 123 members in attendance, a small majority of only seven voted to pension Hugo Gutsche off, while 70 members abstained.<sup>331</sup> – This minority decision was declared as official and final by chairman Schmidt. Thus the split in King was inevitable. In January 1898 137 loyal members followed their former pastor to form the Emmanuel Church which meant that now two German Baptist Churches with two pastors existed in King side by side. Efforts to heal the breach were made by the Gutsche people from the outset but without success. Then the Baptist Union of SA was officially approached and both parties agreed to accept their verdict. I hereunder give the full, although somewhat lengthy report of the Commission, because it better than anything else paints a clear picture of, and explains the tensions in Gutsche's churches toward the end of the 19th Century. It is clear that his Settlers had "matured" and did "their own thing." Some were no longer willing to submit to the laws and discipline of the Constitution. There are three versions of this document in the Gutsche Files: (1) The original handwritten findings; (2) the same report but printed, and (3) the proper German translation. "Findings of the Advisory Board appointed to investigate matters with regard to the German Baptist Churches, King Williams Town:

"The case before the Advisory Committee is as follows:-

Certain members of the Bethany Church King Williams Town withdrew from fellowship and formed themselves into a separate Church under Pastor H Gutsche at the beginning of the present year; can the step be justified? What should be the course taken from this time onward?

"The case was stated at great length by Pastor Gutsche on the one side, and Mr Carl Franz on the other and supported on either side by Pastors M Schmidt and Louis Preuss, Messrs Gernetzky, Zerbe, and others.

"Having carefully considered all the facts placed before us we find as follows:-

**"I.** That trouble appeared in the Church in 1894 consequent upon the serious illness of Pastor Gutsche. In that year and the year

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<sup>331</sup> In letters and records we found conflicting figures; I have not tried to reconcile or amend them.

following few of the pastor's best friends dared hope for his recovery. Up till that time Mr Gutsche had governed the Church with a strong hand; his mind and touch had been continuously on all the details of the work; and when these were relaxed some confusion was perhaps inevitable. Many things passed from under the Pastor's control and could never go back. In the early days a strong and absolute rule was needed, and the splendid work done justifies Pastor Gutsche's rule. But conditions have changed. The Germans are no longer foreigners in a strange land; they now guide their own affairs, and take a large and honourable part in the guidance of the Country. Perhaps no single man's work has more contributed to this than Pastor Gutsche. But now as Professor Fetzner well says (March 29<sup>th</sup> 98) "The time of absolutism has passed away." A transition period is always a hard time and a time of danger. We counsel the brethren on both sides to consider this, to have patience with each other and to trust each other, even when they are driven to divergent views as to duty. *"Thereunto we have already attained by that same rule let us walk"* (Phil. III 1b (RV). For a time of change need not be a time of destruction. As for divergence of view there is a special promise for that *"If in anything ye are otherwise minded even this shall God reveal unto you."* (Phil III 15 RV).

"II. On account of the pastor's sickness it became necessary to obtain assistance for him, and the Church got out the Rev L Preuss. In all this we think the Church acted considerably and wisely with regard to the Pastor. But soon after the settlement of Mr Preuss undue partiality began to be manifested by many for one or the other minister; faction soon grew, and with or against their will the Pastors were placed at the head of opposing parties. This was the root of much evil; bitterness sprang up, scandal was talked, and both Pastors suffered. Vague rumours affecting the honour of the one were charged against the other as circulated scandal.

"Before us Mr Gutsche distinctly and emphatically refused to make any charge against the honour of Mr Preuss. Undoubtedly words spoken in heat and possibly in confidence were carried about, and in the usual way of a scandal were coloured, exaggerated and rendered false by tone and context. Every person concerned should now consider it a point of honour to be absolutely silent on these matters.

"No charge could have been seriously entertained by either Pastor against the other or by either party in the Church, for after hearing the whole matter in connection with the proffered resignation of

both Pastors the Church confirmed both men in their Pastorate and both accepted office. Neither the Church nor Pastors, being honourable, could have allowed this settlement had any serious charge been entertained.

"III. We now come to the year 1897. The events of this year were the immediate cause of the withdrawal of the members with which we are now chiefly concerned. This year Mr Gutsche was granted leave of absence for his health's sake, and part of it was spent by him in Germany. Shortly after Mr Gutsche's departure Mr Preuss resigned his pastorate which the Church accepted. The time for taking this step was very ill advised, it may have been done in all simplicity, but it certainly lends colour to the suspicion entertained by Pastor Gutsche that intriguing was going on. "Consequent upon this resignation steps were taken to change Mr Gutsche's relation to the Church. This was wrong. During that year of leave Mr Gutsche was in honour bound to the Church, and the Church to him. At the expiration of the period the Pastor should have returned and the Church should have received him as Pastor, not as pensioner. We hold with Professor Fetzer (August 23rd 1897) "In the absence of Mr Gutsche the matter should not have been dealt with as it has been unless pressing circumstances demanded." Such circumstances did not arise.

"The Church put a slight upon Pastor Gutsche, and one which must have brought suspicion upon him in Germany, by advertising in the German papers for a Pastor, without reference to him. As he was then recovering his health it amounted to a public discharge of the Pastor.

"The terms upon which the pension was offered were scarcely honourable to the Church and a condition was appended which reflected on the honour of Mr Gutsche. The Church distinctly declined to guarantee the payment of the pension for even a single year, and it made no provision for the payment of it but seemed to propose making it out of current funds. This would make the recipient feel he was weakening the Church in its proper work each time he received it. The condition appended implied that the Pastor wished to work in opposition to the Church.

"Finally, in pressing its terms upon Pastor Gutsche the Church acted upon too narrow a majority - a majority of seven only in a meeting of 123 members. The Church was warned by Professor Fetzer (August 23<sup>rd</sup> 97) against pushing matters to a split with so large a minority.

"Dear Brethren, we conclude as follows: It is very clear that the German Baptist Church in King Williams Town can furnish ample work and sufficient support for two Pastors. We were glad to note that Pastor Ratter seemed but little involved in these troubles. There can be therefore no personal reason why he and Mr Gutsche should not work together in perfect harmony and Emmanuel and Bethany be re-united.

"We cannot, however ignore the fact that there have been in the past great difficulties in carrying on a dual Pastorate in the Church. Such difficulties have been experienced elsewhere. If in your judgment these difficulties appear insuperable, or well nigh insuperable, and past experience makes you fearful, then, dear Brethren, agree to work apart but in perfect harmony. Recognise one another, refrain from accusations and recriminations, and abstain from all rivalry except that which provokes to love and good works.

"In order to effect this, certain paragraphs of the letters from Bethany which follow should be withdrawn. In addition to this let there be interchange of Service between the Ministers and occasional re-unions of all the members. We also remark that we heard with joy expressions of respect and affection for Mr Gutsche from those who are on the other side. We doubt not such were genuine and where such exist there should be little difficulty in effecting real and complete personal reconciliation.

"We are sure we express a wide felt emotion when we say we are devoutly thankful that Pastor Gutsche is so greatly improved in health. Though we may not hope for the splendid activity of his youth and middle manhood yet we pray that a gracious old age may be his, an age of mellowed wisdom and deep usefulness. And we also very fervently pray that the work which you and he together have built up through long years God may establish upon you and crown with His beauty.

G.W. Cross, Chairman Advisory Board, Baptist Union of S.A.<sup>332</sup>

As could be expected, Bethany and the anti-Gutsche parties were not happy with the judgment and made little progress in their work, whereas

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<sup>332</sup> This is the original hand-written version. – Revs H.T. Batts, A. Hall, T. Perry (Secretary), Messr W.A. Howard and T.B. King were the other members of the Board.

Gutsche somehow found new strength and some of his old vigour, which resulted in the growth of his section. The English Baptists had long overtaken the German Bund by leaps and bounds. Around 1900 they had 24 Churches with 26 'imported' pastors from overseas and a membership of over 2000 whereas the Germans got stuck at just over a thousand and 5 pastors.<sup>333</sup>

Gutsche tried hard to make peace and seek reconciliation with those who had turned against him. All his untiring efforts remained fruitless. He even offered to work *under* the new young minister of Bethany, the Rev W. Ratter, and wrote to Pastor Louis Preuss

"Dear Brother Preuss! King Williams Town 24. Oct. 1898  
After the disturbing and trying meetings last week our Lord told me - after much prayer - to offer you my hands of peace and forgiveness before the fire of destruction increases. Please let us work together in the household of God. How can pastors and their members fight among themselves? It's a scandal and bad testimony to the world! I will also write to Prof Fetzer in Hamburg and visit pastor Ratter and Br Zerbe. Please, for the Lord's sake, let us venture to make peace  
"Blessed are the peace makers for they shall be called the children of God."

Once again, dear brother Preuss, let us act as God's children and join forgiving hands at the foot of the Cross of Jesus. Your humble co-redeemed [Miterlöster] Hugo Gutsche"

In reply he received one of the nastiest letters ever, from Louis Preuss, who had escaped to the German Church in Johannesburg, mockingly poking fun of Gutsche in a malicious, derisive and ridiculing manner. One has to read the German original in order to appreciate the full extent of young Preuss' disrespect (to be found in "Supplement #4). Here is my English translation:

"My most dearly beloved Brother Gutsche! Mayfair 31. Jan 1899.  
With great emotional feelings I want to thank you for your indescribably charming letter which shows your deep and undeserved fatherly concern you shower upon me once again, in line with your affection toward me in times past. Ja Ja my dear Father I gladly admit you are right in every way, even all the courts in the country

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<sup>333</sup> The SA Baptist Handbook 1900, p. 52-53.

would agree without reserve! Indeed you are known across Africa up to the Zambesi and all over Germany as a clever advocate and venerable sophist. Therefore I beg of you, my dear father, have pity upon me, a miserable sinner and dumb fool that I am indeed. May I humbly ask you to read my letters with the uttermost attention and leisure, without haste and hurry, perhaps it might just happen that your learned mind will spot per chance a subtle twist or turn in my words which normally will go unnoticed.

"Furthermore may I dare to beg of you, most venerable Father Gutsche, to have patience with me when I am of slow understanding and sometimes fail to comprehend the deep meaning of your wise words. Would you, please, condescend teaching me the meaning of your allusions about unpaid moneys?

"I have full confidence in the magnanimity of your great heart which I often experienced—though undeserved—and which were a comfort and encouragement all the days of my life in South Africa. I trust that the sentiments of this letter will be "music to your ears!" I have made a special effort in order to improve on my former style and trust that this time I have made amends and you and your friends will be pleased with what I have written.

"Greetings from your subservient and most obedient and humble  
(signed) Louis Preuss."

Those were distressing months for Gutsche. During many sleepless nights he sat or walked in his study, praying and agonising, in deep pain, for hours wondering which way to turn and what to do after the Baptist Union Findings, when over one hundred loyal members had lost their spiritual home as they were no longer welcome in their old church. Should he start afresh, in opposition to his younger colleagues? Or should he pack up and return to Germany, after more than thirty years in South Africa, where his life's work was? Only his wife and immediate family knew the extent of his mental, spiritual and physical anguish and struggle.<sup>334</sup>

They bought a prestigious site in Upper Ayliff Street, in a prime position, and opened their new Emmanuel Chapel on 14. October 1899, 22 months

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<sup>334</sup> As told by his son Dr Philipp Gutsche to his son Phil R, who himself passed this testimony verbally on to me.

after the split. The cost inclusive fittings and furnishing amounted to £2789.-. 5d. They were £100 short on the day of opening but the special collection wiped out this deficit. True to Gutsche's principle, this latest building was fully paid for, and that within two years! On the day of the opening, in the afternoon, the elderly pastor, now almost 60, baptised 5 men and 14 women, surely the crowning moment of the opening and dedication weekend. By the end of that year the new church had gathered 187 members around their old pastor to enter the 20<sup>th</sup> Century with confidence. Five years later, once again in his prominent position as chairman and hon. President, he could report:

"We have peace at last, after eight years of 'civil war' between brothers. The memory of this sad chapter in our history warns us to avoid similar mistakes in future. We are now working hand in hand in brotherly love and respect, all 8 ordained ministers of us, from Germany and America. With this united team there will be growth and blessing in future."<sup>335</sup>

## **Travels and Ministries beyond Kaffraria**

This passage of St Paul could be applied literally, word by word, to Hugo Gutsche as well:

"I have been constantly on the move. I have been in danger from rivers, in danger from bandits, in danger from my own countrymen, in danger from Gentiles, in danger in the city, in danger in the country, in danger at sea; and in danger from false brothers. I have laboured and toiled and have often gone without sleep; I have known hunger and thirst and have often gone without food; I have been cold and naked. Beside everything else, I have faced daily the pressure of my concern for all the churches. Who is weak, and I do not feel weak? Who is led into sin, and I do not inwardly burn? If I must boast, I will boast of the things that show my weakness. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who is to be praised forever, knows that I am not lying" (2 Cor 11 26-31 NIV).

As this is the first time that the documented Gutsche story and the history of the *German* Baptist Church is being written in detail, based on newly found original letters, diaries and official minute books which are

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<sup>335</sup> Executiattachve Report Bund Konferenz 26 March 1905.



now kept in the Baptist Archives, his country-wide activities and interests deserve an extra chapter to show how the whole of South Africa was his parish, and not only the King Williams Town District.

In addition, his travel accounts paint a splendid period picture of the country's emerging diamond and gold industries, with the accompanying social, labour and economic struggles which put a tremendous strain on the transport, postal and road systems. It does not surprise us at all that, inevitably, moral and ethical standards deteriorated, families were torn apart, Blacks by the thousands flocked to the gold and diamond fields, and national and international politics twisted and turned in the wake of intrigue and devious schemes, of which the German Settlers were an integral part.

His energetic circuit programme never slackened—every one knew the lively pastor on horseback. His son Dr Philipp remarks in the obituary

"All he knew about a horse, its points and its care was how to 'get a move on' ... a well-known figure, careering along in his peculiar attitude of riding (he stood in the stirrups and hardly touched the seat of the saddle) with the clerical coat-tails streaming far behind him ... old minutes say that nobody was willing to accompany him, unless the parson promised to ride more slowly."<sup>336</sup>

In less than 20 years the German Settlers spread right across the country. The gold fields and diamond mines of Johannesburg and Kimberley beckoned. Gutsche was concerned about the spiritual welfare of his members and kept in touch by frequent letters. He embarked on several pastoral visits. As a sample, we give details of the October-December 1889 trip, quoting from his diary and almost daily letters to his wife in King (*in English translations*):

"Lieb Schätzchen mein! (Dearest Darling) Kimberley 12 Oct 1899 "Mr Wheeldon's carriage takes me to Grahamstown; I am the only passenger. We leave at 06<sup>16</sup> and arrive at 17<sup>15</sup>, totally frozen, stiff and wet. I spent a long time at the kitchen stove of the Manse until I revived. I attended the Sunday services, heard Mr Cross preach twice and enjoyed long and refreshing fellowship with them all.

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<sup>336</sup> SA Baptist Magazine 25 Sept 1926 p. 110.

"Sunday night I left Grahamstown by train at 20<sup>45</sup> and arrived in Kimberley Tuesday morning at 04<sup>00</sup> o'clock. We were late, mainly because the train personnel talked so much whenever they had to stop for other trains to cross, mainly goods trains. Vainly I tried to sleep during the bitterly cold nights. At Noupooort I bought myself an inexpensive "Kaffir blanket" (sic).

"In Kimberley I visited the diamond diggings and the compound of the 1600 Blacks who worked in the 'Big Hole.' The recovering and sorting of the diamonds from the mud is first done by Whites who get l/sh per carat; then the Blacks go through it again for 3d. Finally prisoners have a last check without pay. The strictest supervision and detective system is in place which costs £16,000 per annum. Yearly production amounts to about 4 million £ Sterling.

"I visited all Germans, Baptists or not and also called on the English Baptist minister Mr Hughes. Kimberley has about 30,000 Whites and 26,000 Blacks, electric street lights, about 800 cabs, many Jews and numerous prostitutes. At the annual mission conference of the Wesleyans with 120 visitors we had some good talks by Dr Watkins. Mr Wilkinson's speech was fair, but Mr Spenzer's address was full of self-praise. The solo item from Milton was an ear-splitting howling! ... Nun sei gar herzlich gegrüsst & geküsst & inniglich umarmt von Deinem alten Hugo."<sup>337</sup>

My brief summary reveals his pastoral concern, organising talent and multifarious ministries:

In Bloemfontein he visited the President's home at Government House and had discussions with the Postmaster General, Bank manager Simpson and the Education minister about schools and mission statistics. Several horses of the mail coaches died between Winburg, Vredefort and Potchefstroom. Rivers were swollen and flooded. The final stretch to Johannesburg could have been done in five hours but it took them five nights and three and a half days. The mail coaches were always overloaded with letters and parcel bags. There was no room for the three passengers; Gutsche managed to kneel on top of the bags inside, holding on to the tent-roof, the other two sat on the edge of the carriage with their

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<sup>337</sup> His full account of this three months' journey is found in my Supplementary Section #5.

legs hanging down. In a deep forest ravine they rode over a hidden tree stump: The driver and two passengers flew through the air and fell to the ground. Gutsche, because of his kneeling position and the weight of his body, kept the cart from overturning altogether and suffered no harm.<sup>338</sup>

Three weeks later he arrived in Johannesburg, his home for the next two months. The "Golden City" was in deep trouble. There were no street lights; horribly smelling refuse was piling up around houses 'which are tents, reed boxes or tin huts'. Theft and robberies increase every week. The Stock Exchange keeps going by means of mock-sales; a cheque is valid for not more than 24 hours.

His 38 members were split into three parties and in a state of 'Corinthian confusion' but Gutsche managed to unite them. They agreed to build a four-roomed manse and church on the same site and opened a Sunday School and German Day School while Gutsche was with them. He kept himself busy by collecting funds and left them well organised with visions and goals for the future.<sup>339</sup>

Just before Christmas he arrived at Sugarloaf/Tafelkop via Heidelberg-Frankfort to visit his Afrikaans 'children' with elder J.D. Odendaal. The whole district got excited and farmers came to see

"dat kleen jong keel hed u gedopt vor tree en twentaag jare!" (sic, the man who baptised their leader 23 years ago). He preached eight sermons in four days, had business meetings, arranged proper church registers and membership lists, taught them Baptist Principles and organised the entire church household."<sup>340</sup>

Gutsche returned via Ladysmith, Harrysmith, Pietermaritzburg and Durban and arrived home on 15 January 1889, after 3 months and 3 days' absence from family and church.

His Johannesburg church never really prospered. After Friedrich Stroh and then Louis Preuss each had served for a short time, both resigned because the members could not pay the stipend which wasn't sufficient

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<sup>338</sup> Letter to Mary from Johannesburg 30 Oct 1889, in Gutsche file.

<sup>339</sup> Letters to Mary from Johannesburg dated 6th, 14th & 29<sup>th</sup> Nov 1889.

<sup>340</sup> Letter to Mary from Sugarloaf 25 Dec 1889.

to even buy the bare essentials. Manse and chapel were sold early in the 20th century and the money added to the German Bund funds.

The warm and sincere life-long fellowship found its deepest expression immediately after the 'Boer War' with the British when in 1903 Gutsche made a second trip to his Afrikaans friends at Sugarloaf<sup>341</sup> under altogether different circumstances. He arrived at the end of May 1903 to see his

"poor and hunted brothers in the Free State immediately after the peace treaty of Vereeniging ... The last 5 years brought great trouble and suffering to our beloved South Africa. After the brutal war and senseless killing a new political order has emerged, irreversibly. On the 15. January 1901 we were making plans for the usual conference, when without warning the Boer troops broke into the Eastern Provinces. Then the British authorities proclaimed the strictest martial law which made travelling impossible, even in 1902. Praise God, now the warring nations, after three years of horrible fighting, have exchanged their swords and canons for sickle and plough shares."<sup>342</sup>

Gutsche pleaded for help from overseas and had appeals printed in the American "Sendbote" (Ambassador) and German "Wahrheitszeuge" (Witness of Truth). The response was immediate and overwhelming. On page 264/1903 of the 'Wahrheitszeuge' we find a long list of donors with the amounts given. A sum of £488 was handed over plus £70 from the King Williams Town church. On 21. April 1905 they get a further £112.14/- for distribution which were allocated by the members in the following manner:

"2 horses for J W Odendaal £50  
Preaching trip to Leidenburg £11  
Expenses in connection with new chapel £70  
Distribution among the very poor £25,13,9d.

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<sup>341</sup> later changed to Tafelkop, finally named Ebenhaezer Gemeente Cornelia Destrik Vrede Orange Free State.

<sup>342</sup> Executive Report 14 Konferenz Minutes 27-29 Mar 1903.

The surplus of £38 was handed to our minister J.W. Odendaal for his family."<sup>343</sup>

In June 1903 Gutsche sent another open letter "To all Baptist Churches, here and in Germany" about the desperate conditions of Odendaals' people after the concentration camps and war destructions.<sup>344</sup>

"Calamity of calamities! Distress and misery! When the Boer prisoners of war return, they will find nothing but ruins. No horse, no ox, no grain. Therefore, some are just returning to the camps from whence they were released.-The women are overjoyed and grateful for the wool, dress material and other textiles which Pastor von Bodelschwingh sent in three big wooden boxes from Bethel, Germany. At the moment they are trying to establish several orphanage homes in Bethulie and Brandfort for the many children who lost their parents. It is hoped to close them again after some years as the children will grow up and learn to stand on their own feet. Grocery prices are unbelievably high. Missionary (Mrs) Sandrock had to pay 2,70 Mark for a head of cabbage; a wine bottle filled with milk costs 50 Pfennig, chickens go for 5 Mark a piece and eggs for 3 Mark a dozen. Many Afrikaanders dig up wild roots and boil them for soup or eat them like vegetables. The Coloureds find work on the Railways with wages which don't go far because everything is too expensive. How long will it be till normal living conditions will return?"

"Signs of the recent war are everywhere. Many houses are partly repaired, or next to the ruins we find a small shack. Cemeteries are numerous - we visited one in Springfontein where over 2 000 people were put to rest. Many graves have only a number; when more than two people died on the same day they were put into mass graves. Though the wooden little crosses are a reminder of the recent tragedies many try to forget the ravages of war and stretch out helping hands. For instance, at this year's conference we invited two

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<sup>343</sup> The receipt is signed at Cornelia 27th August 1905 by J.W. Odendaal Ouderling/ P. Odendaal Diakon/ D.J. Grove Diakon/ J.D. Noordwyk and filed with the Gutsche papers; references are also found in J.D. Odendaal, *So Het God ons Skredes gelei. Die ontstaan en groei van die Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk 1867-1977*. Baptistepublikasies Kempton Park 1982, p. 30.

<sup>344</sup> see Supplement #6.

sons of the late J.D. Odendaal as delegates. The Cornelia Church now has 51 white and 21 coloured baptised believers."<sup>345</sup>

*It was the official policy of the Baptist Union, right from their formation in 1877, to accept all born-again believers as full members, without regard to race or gender.* As the 21 coloured believers spoke Afrikaans and could, therefore, fully enter into the worship and ministry of the Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk, there was no reason for them to have a separate fellowship.<sup>346</sup> The same principle was applied by Gutsche in his German churches: The Tshabo Xhosa-Fingoe Baptists conducted their own activities solely because of the language barrier (they had no knowledge of German or English) and physical distance of 9 km from the nearest Church at Berlin. But in the statistics and reports there were no distinctions nor classifications concerning Tshabo or any other mission church. On the 26th and 27th March 1904 the new, second Cornelia church building plus the Pastor's new manse were dedicated and opened for worship and praise. The members were happy and satisfied, now they were able to offer the Lord a place where He could live among them and bless them:

"de Heer heef wonderlyk met ons gehandel -Psalm 115,1 wie en wat is ons dat de Heere aan ons gedacht heet."<sup>347</sup>

Immediate blessing resulted. Within five months after the opening forty new members were baptised and received. Odendaal was absent from Cornelia for three out of four weeks preaching at Frankfurt, Leydenburg, Viljoensdrift and other places. However, the people were so poor that they could give next to nothing for his support. He didn't know how to keep his family from starving, but writes "doch ik hoop de Heere zal voor zien in myne behoefte."<sup>348</sup>

Carl Hugo Gutsche, right up to the end of his ministry, always regarded the Afrikaans Churches as his special children. By the providence of God

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<sup>345</sup> *Wahrheitszeuge* Vol 1903, pp. 95 & 386.

<sup>346</sup> See also J.D. Odendaal, *So Het God ons Skredes gelei. Die ontstaan en groei van die Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk 1867 -1977*, Kempton Park: Baptistepublikasies, 1982, p. 32.

<sup>347</sup> Sic, letter from Odendaal to Gutsche 14 May 1904, in file.

<sup>348</sup> Odendaal to Gutsche 14 Aug 1904.

he was instrumental in raising up a precious branch of God's Vine for His Kingdom.

He travelled with apostolic zeal to the utter limits of his physical strength—and his works followed him. He was a traveller with tales to tell and privileged—with the help of the Holy Spirit—to re-enact some chapters of the Acts of the Apostles and experience—though to a diminished degree—a little of the thrills and trials of the missionary journeys of St Peter and Paul with their helpers, leaving behind new organised churches with deacons and elders and sound biblical frameworks for the efficient and spiritual administration of the new causes.

## **Chapter 5: The Autumn of his Life (1906 - 1926)**

### **Golden Wedding and 50th Anniversary of his Ordination**

Gutsche continued to influence, inspire and guide his people across the country and remained a leader in Baptist Union affairs and Missionary efforts. In recognition thereof he was made an honorary Life President on 23 October 1917 at the Bloemfontein Assembly and called "The grand o'd man from King Williams Town."<sup>1</sup> And within ten years, his church Emmanuel once more became the biggest Baptist church in the country.

He undertook his last trip from April to September 1911 to attend the Second Baptist World Congress in Philadelphia USA and returned via Germany to visit Hamburg, Berlin, Saxony, the Harz mountains and other places of his childhood and youth. He was now 68 years of age. His brother Gustav Theodor, a judge, had just died and his parents had already departed in 1892 and 1893. Life had come full circle for him; it was the final good bye. All friends were gone, he hardly knew the second and third Baptist generation in Germany, who had almost forgotten the harsh beginnings and early persecutions of their fathers. When the time drew near for Hugo and Mary Gutsche to celebrate their Golden Wedding and 50<sup>th</sup> Ministry Anniversary in South Africa (7.12.1867 – 7.12.1917), their many English friends country-wide were embarrassed because all Germans were now supposed to be enemies of England and her colonies! How they longed to join the festivities and publicly honour a couple who had had such an impact upon the civic, social and cultural life of Kaffraria and beyond. Secretly and under cover of darkness many congratulated them. The general merchant George Whitaker from their grocery shop wrote the following letter:

"Dear Sir, Dec 4th 1917, I received your rather late invitation yesterday. While I have the greatest respect for the personal character of the Revd Gutsche & I fully recognize the good work Mrs Gutsche has done in her long connection with the Ladies B. Society I regret that under the present circumstances I am unable to attend the meeting which appears to be of a denominational church character. Yours Resp G Whitaker " (sic ).

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<sup>1</sup> *The Cape Mercury*, Saturday 8 Dec 1917.



It was a strange set-up indeed. The Gutsche family was totally integrated with King Williams Town. Their son Philipp was a medical doctor with his surgery in Ayliff Street. His patients needed healing and help; to boycott him and run to some stranger did not make sense. Hulda was married to Edward Hamilton Egan of the local Standard Bank; clients didn't close their accounts but business continued as usual—in spite of this Irishman having married a German wife. The Cape Mercury printed a Letter to the Editor on 15 June 1916:

'Sir, A couple of days ago, an anonymous correspondent made an attack in your columns on an elderly gentleman, who, for nearly half a century, has been among us a living example of the Gospel he preaches. It is true your correspondent could not find much to say against him - lack of positive patriotism was the charge. As to that, I wonder how many King Williams Town parents can boast of a son holding the rank of colonel in any English or Colonial regiment. This Mr. Hugo Gutsche can do.- Yours, Honour to whom Honour is due'.

A week later, 22 6 1916, a further letter appeared on the same subject in the Cape Mercury:

"to attack a man publicly without signing one's name is the act, to say the least of it, of a moral coward. No consideration should be given to articles of this kind. When the attack is made upon a man like Rev Gutsche - who has a son in the service and whose fifty years of unstinted labour on behalf of the King Williamstown public is scarcely to be paralleled by that of any other citizen - the act is as thoroughly un-British as it is un-Christian. Failure to discriminate may, of course, be the case ... When a man's father or fatherland goes wrong all that can be expected is silence, and the silence of grief should always be respected.

Yours, (Rev) John A. MacColl."

*Explanation:* Colonel Clemence Gutsche was in charge of the Table Bay Defence Force, housed in the Cape Town Castle. And in the King Emmanuel Minutes 19 Sep 1915 p 219 we read that

"18 young men were soldiers from 12 Oct 1914 to 13 Aug 1915, serving as ambulance men, or with the Kaffrarian-, Eastern-, Southern- and Midland Rifles, Railway Corps and Hartigan Horse Brigade.

They all returned safely and without injuries from South West Africa. A thanksgiving service was held at the Church. General Botha stated that of the 50,000 troops under his command 4,500 had been Germans."

Which proved that the German Baptists of Kaffraria were patriotic and rose to the defence of their adopted country. The Gutsches themselves had acquired South African citizenship early in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>2</sup>

Yet feelings were running high which was natural. The minutes from 29 August 1915 state that the invitation to attend the Baptist Union Assembly in Port Elizabeth cannot be accepted "for this year because their minister and church have officially and publicly taken part in anti-German street demonstrations." The Union secretary was informed accordingly and regretted their absence.

In December 1917 common sense prevailed eventually. All "caution" was thrown to the wind. The Mayor of King Williams Town, Colonel Style, attended the public celebrations and spoke about the 'illustrious couple of his town' in the most appreciative terms. The Cape Mercury 8 Dec 1917, printed two full pages of the event, reporting in detail on the speeches and paying a glowing tribute to his life and work, thereby ignoring the official 'state of war' between the two countries.

"he had been asked by his Council and the Burial Board to convey their heartiest congratulations to Pastor and Mrs. Gutsche on the occasion of their jubilee. Pastor Gutsche had been associated with the public life of the town for the last 50 years, and he (the speaker) recognised that as Mayor it was his duty to be present and congratulate Pastor and Mrs Gutsche. They arrived on the 7 Dec 1867 from Hamburg, where he was assistant in the largest Baptist Church of Germany. He came to this country as a missionary to labour among the German settlers of British Kaffraria. The Home authorities suggested to him to go to Cape Town and make enquiries there as to where his people were located. In those days they did not realise the distance that Cape Town was from British Kaffraria. This was a

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<sup>2</sup> During the Second World War 1939-1945 many more from the third and fourth generation of the 1858 Settlers enrolled voluntarily to fight with the South African and British troops; their loyalties now lay undividedly with the (African) country of their birth.

simular instance to that which occurred many years ago in connection with the appointment of a military chaplain for King Williams Town. The Home authorities replied to the application to the effect that they could not understand why King Williams Town wanted a military chaplain when there was one stationed at Pietermaritzburg, and they thought it would be quite a simple matter for him to take morning service in Maritzburg and evening service in King Williamstown. After much delay they finally arrived by postal coach and private cart in King via Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown ... During the next 25 years 20 or more churches have been opened in British Kaffraria and this work is largely due to his efforts. From his small mission at T'Shabo the Baptist Missionary Society has grown. His help and advice was sought in connection with scholastic work and in this he laboured unceasingly, and many schools were established in most of the villages ... In the early days there were only two doctors in King Williamstown and he was recognised as a medical practitioner. He was also frequently asked to assist his people in legal advice and drew up the "Last Will and Testament" for most of them.- In conclusion, his Worship said he thought that that was a record which did great honour to Pastor Gutsche whose influence among the people of the town and district has been of great benefit. Others spoke in glowing terms of the jubilee couple and how the Gutsche's example had inspired them. His activity and zeal, and how he had risked his life in crossing swollen rivers in order to keep appointments or conduct services while wet right through. His apostolic zeal and vigorous faith will always be remembered.

The principals of Dale College and Girls' High School as well as 9 other members of churches, school boards, institutions and business offered congratulations. The festivities took place on the 6 December 1917 in his Ayliff Street Emmanuel Church. All children and grandchildren had come. Representatives from all Bund Churches joined in the jublations. The East London Buffalo Street and King Taylor Street Baptists also came—though English—thereby putting brotherly love before political expedience. The Baptist Union and Missionary Society sent five delegates. This show of loyalty touched the Gutsche family deeply.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> All taken from the two full-length eight columns pages of the "Cape Mercury" 8 Dec 1917.

"When all the eloquent and hearty speeches had ended, piling praise upon recognition, the number of letters,wires and presents had been acknowledged, the venerable old gentleman rose and, with a voice shaken by age and deep emotion, spoke a few telling sentences, in his own inimitable soul-stirring way. Many were moved to tears, and the portals of heaven seemed open, when he in holy fervour amid breathless silence, burst forth in his declaration of Faith: "When I approach the Judgment Seat in all my unworthiness I shall say **"NOSSING, NOSSING, NOSSING in my hand I bring, Simply to Thy Cross I cling!**

The present generation knows him not as an orator and compelling preacher but the late Professor Foote (of Literature at Cape Town) used to quote him in his lectures as an example of '*an inspired man full of enthusiasm verging on the supernatural*'. With his deep, resonant, marvellously powerful and clear voice, he used to carry his audiences away with him and play on their heartstrings with the master hand of Divine influence. His English vocabulary was remarkably rich and varied, but his Teutonic pronunciation marred his deliverances - especially in the later years."

#### Response of Carl Hugo Gutsche<sup>4</sup>

"We have now lived for 50 years in King Williams Town. I *listened* to every word and nothing escaped the attention of my heart. I *thank you* all and in doing so I have to blush deeply. I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude and gladness for all your kindness in words and deeds.—I tried to do my best but no one knows as I know in my heart how poor this best was. Yet, God condescended to own some part of the work and let it bring forth fruit to His praise and glory, not to my renown and distinction. I am fully persuaded the Almighty often reveals His power through the weakness of His instruments.

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<sup>4</sup> *The Cape Mercury*, Tuesday 15th June 1926; on "Rev Hugo Gutsche, His Life and Work; A Biographical Sketch." written by his son Dr med Philipp Gutsche. It was reprinted in 'South African Baptist,' August, Sept, Oct, Nov 1926. In addition, his doctor son made a careful digest of the Jubilee Programme and proceedings, using his father's notes and his own observations. I have italicized only those words which Vater Gutsche himself highlighted likewise in his own original rough draft which is filed with the Gutsche Papers.

*"Missions:* I firmly believe that the soul of a black man is as precious in the sight of God the Father as the soul of a white man. Our Saviour paid the same price for a Hottentott or bushman" as he paid for a European. He gave His life and His blood as ransom for each of them. The Divine Spirit continually points to the clear command: "Go and preach the Gospel to every creature." And for what purpose? What is the result and fruit thereof? John, seeing our Mediatorial King on His throne suddenly exclaims: "Lo!! a great multitude which no man can number (of all nations and kindred and people and tongues) stood before the Lord, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands." O how great will the harvest be?

*"Scholastic:* At my arrival I found young and old people incapable to read or write. In the 18 newly established villages the schools hardly functioned; I saw that advice and help, cooperation and assistance were urgently needed. Parents could not conduct family worship, children were unable to read the Word of God, though the command of our Master is distinct: "Search the Scripture for they testify of me." So I became connected with the schoolwork over the next 49 years.

*"Cemetery:* I have often been told, the cemetery was one of my hobbies. My reason, however, for taking over the care of the Burial ground is of quite another nature. The sepulchre of our Redeemer was in a garden. Those who loved Him brought His body thither. Shall we not do likewise and bring our beloved ones, when they depart, to their last resting place in a similar garden-like spot?

*"Co-pastor:* I cannot express adequately the sense of gratitude for the repeated reference and respect to my copastor Mrs Gutsche. I do not think I shall ever know in this world, how much 'Of the apparent success mentioned, is due to my wife, to her beautiful Christian life and unselfish readiness for every good work. She is unwearied to cheer and comfort the sick, to soothe or stimulate the depressed, to help and assist the poor and afflicted.'

*"Thanking again* I say to all: "God bless you!" We also will not easily forget the strenuous efforts of the Choir and other Associations of our Church. The working Committee attended with much labour to every detail and made this function such a success. As you have done to me this day, may the Lord do to you and even more so—when your life's work is approaching its termination.

*"Fifty years* have rolled away. Years make no noise, neither in coming nor in going. They are silent messengers of blessings and they are silent thieves.

*"When my life's sun sets* and I have to meet my Saviour to enter into the eternal rest, I shall be there not for anything I have done, but for what Christ has done for me. I owe my salvation not to any meritorious work of mine, but to the grace of God through faith in the Redeemer.

Nothing in my Hand I bring  
Simply to His cross I cling. "

"The Benediction and singing of God Save the King concluded the proceedings shortly before eleven o'clock."

The whole programme as well as Gutsche's moving reply were printed almost verbatim by The Cape Mercury 8 Dec 1917.

(How extraordinary! In the middle of World War I the British-South African National Anthem (God save the KING) is being sung by the *German* Baptist Congregation consisting of the first, second and third generations of the 1858 German Settlers!)

Philipp Gutsche wrote to his sister in this connection that "never before or after has he been a member of an audience who was so captivated and moved by The Holy Heavenly Presence of The Spirit." There was a holy hush in church, even the weeping was full of gratitude and sort of quietly joyous.

This all took place toward the end of the Great War (1914-1918) when the Bolsheviks were busy with their Red Revolution, Russia was dropping out of the War and the German Kaiser-Reich rapidly slid into complete defeat, affecting Germans worldwide, most of all those in West-, East- and South Africa, where German culture and language received a deadly blow.

## **Retirement and Failing Strength**

After his Golden Wedding and 50<sup>th</sup> Ministry Jubilee in 1917, his diary records the failing strength and frailty of the ageing couple. They were still travelling a lot, but now in comfort and "luxury" using the ever expanding and improving railway network country-wide. For instance,

the early morning train departed King at 04<sup>30</sup> and arrived in East London at 07<sup>00</sup>. The return trip could be undertaken from 16<sup>20</sup> to 19<sup>30</sup> when their doctor son Philipp would fetch them by car from the station. In this way they could enjoy several days of perfect rest at the Orient Beach Hotel, Windsor Hotel Currie Street, or some inexpensive boarding house. Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Johannesburg could be reached by train within two or three days, and the Gutsche couple were regular delegates at most Conferences. On Tuesday 23 Oct 1917, at the City Hall during the Bloemfontein Assembly, he was made an Honorary Life President and Life Member of the Baptist Union in recognition of his 50 years of fruitful labour in the country. On the way up the train was too long and heavy and had to be pulled over the mountain pass between Stormsberg and Burghersdorp in two sections.<sup>5</sup> In addition, a pin from the engine got lost and caused another delay of 3 hours.- Mary and Hugo went by train to Port Alfred for a 2 weeks' holiday and paid £ 12 which included food and accommodation for the two of them. He writes "The first time in many years I enjoyed uninterrupted sleep; but suffered severe cramps in my legs while swimming."<sup>6</sup>

He works in the garden and house almost daily, paints fences and walls but feels that his health is playing tricks. Fever, giddiness and diminishing eye sight make reading and studying difficult. During July and August 1918 he cannot preach at all and has several meetings with his deacons and members about the future ministry at Emmanuel. In spite of it, he visits the sick and needy almost every day. In July 1920 his successor Rev J.H. Baier arrived from America and Gutsche can now with a clear conscience hand over everything to his young pastor. For the induction services on 18 July Emmanuel Church was hopelessly overcrowded. Joe's brother Louis Baier arrived a year later to take up the Stutterheim pastorate; Paul Schnell and Paul Rode were doing well in Keiskama Hoek and East London while Paulus Langenberg came from Hamburg's Oncken College to Bethany in 1921. Then F. Niebuhr joined the team. There was now a good group of Baptist ministers busy in Kaffraria, with Hugo Gutsche as the venerable doyen. By now even the three Baptist Churches

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<sup>5</sup> Gutsche Diary & Baptist Union Handbook 1917/18.

<sup>6</sup> Diary 14.1.1917.

in town conducted regular combined services, for there were not many left who remembered the bitter feuds and splits of 1897.

Mary Gutsche collapsed during the service on 9 Oct 1921 and took three months to recover; and once more at a Sunday School picnic on 10 May 1923. They moved from their old place of Turbine/Peters Road in the Military Reserve, where they had lived from 1873-1921, into a smaller house in Lower Ayliff Street, on the opposite side of the church, a little further down in the centre of town and closer to the station. All three Baptist Churches Arthur, Ayliff and Taylor Street were within 200 metre of one another. Hugo and Mary were often short of breath and couldn't walk very far. He cleaned and packed up his surgical instruments on 11 April 1921.<sup>7</sup> Ever since their son Philipp had opened his surgery and consulting rooms in King on 2 November 1896, Father Gutsche no longer offered advice or medicine but referred the parishioners to his doctor son. Several times they managed to visit the Botanical Garden or stroll down to the Buffalo bridge when it was washed away during the floods in October 1922, when water and electricity supplies were disrupted and one or two evening services had to be cancelled. All over town the Blacks would beg for water or simply steal it from the rainwater tanks near the kitchen.<sup>8</sup>

## **The Gutsche Memorial Hall and Mary's Death (1925)**

Then the Emmanuel Church did a very noble thing: They could see that their retired couple was fast moving towards the threshold toward eternity and wouldn't be with them for much longer. They proposed to build a Gutsche Gedenkhalle (Gutsche Memorial Hall) right next to the church while they were still alive and had the foundation stone laid over the weekend 19-20 September 1925. Unfortunately, their venerable pastor's wife Mary died on Monday 3 August 1925 09<sup>15</sup> in her 84th year, just six weeks before that event. His Diary records her last weeks: (sic)

*"Thursday 28 May Social at Taylor Str to welcome the Baptist Union President Rev H.T. Peach. I suffered two dizziness-vertigo attacks before breakfast but still had my weekly ablution, then sat most of*

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<sup>7</sup> Diary.

<sup>8</sup> Diary entries Oct 1922.



the day at the front and back veranda. *Sunday 31 May* I collapsed in the bathroom and could not attend the service but lay on the couch instead for most of the time. Mary is very weak. *Tuesday 7 July* I took Mary as far as the entrance to the Botanical Garden, that's all we could manage. I felt powerless, giddy, shaky, and could do no reading ... *Monday 13 July*: Mary is ill in bed, hurt her leg and complains about her hip. I rested a lot. *15 July to Monday 3rd August*: Mary stays in bed, I do as much nursing as possible - I cannot read, my eyesight fails me, we have countless visitors every day. Dr Pringle and Dr Phil [Gutsche] come several times daily. Nurse Munsoni makes Mary comfortable.

"My Mary dies Monday 3rd August 1925 at 09<sup>15</sup>. At 2<sup>20</sup> pm the corpse is put into the coffin and taken to the Emmanuel Chapel. Revs Rode, the two Baiers and many sympathisers visit us. Tuesday 4th August at 09<sup>00</sup> the funeral takes place from our chapel, a total of 102 wreaths are put on the grave. I feel giddy and shaky throughout these days. Hulda and Hamilton Egan took me in their car to Kidds Beach, 34 miles, for two days and then to the cemetery to see Mary's grave on Monday 10 August. My health does not improve, I am reading with great difficulty. Felt much more giddy and shaky."<sup>9</sup>

Newspapers, Magazines and Periodicals reported on her death: The news of her demise travelled quickly, and telegrammes were received from all parts of South Africa testifying to

"One admired and revered. We can not possibly know how lonely and lost our revered and frail "Vater Gutsche" must feel after 58 years of happy marriage to his beloved.

"*Sister Mary Gutsche*: We still can't believe that 'Mutter' Gutsche is no longer with us. She has always been here; only a handful of people are left who remember the day when she came to King in 1867. On Sunday 12 July she suffered a "heart attack" in her garden which kept her in bed for 3 weeks. During this time her daughter Hulda nursed her day and night ... She was no ordinary woman and the ideal minister's wife with a noble character, her husband called her "My co-pastor." At first she accompanied her husband riding on horseback to East London, Keiskama Hoek, Macleantown, Stutterheim and Hamburg, later they travelled by Cape cart

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<sup>9</sup> Gutsche Diary May-August 1925.

throughout British Kaffraria. Normally, they spent only one Sunday in each quarter in King Williams Town and originally were the only two Baptists in King. Today there are over 500. She organised, educated and guided her people, was a leader in Sunday School and Youth Work and started choirs, Bible Classes and music ministries in all the churches - her husband could not sing a note! Many of the original German immigrants learned to read and write thanks to Mary's tuition. She was a true 'Mother of Israel'. She was ever ready to help the poor and needy far beyond the confines of her churches, for instance as secretary and treasurer of the "Ladies Benevolent Society," a leading member of the King Orphanage and Retirement Home for Women. For her hospitality she was renowned all over South Africa. She was one of the best-known personalities in King Williams Town and Kaffraria and most generous often far above her means and resources. Because the stipend of her husband was not nearly enough to pay for the education and university studies of their children, she gave private piano lessons for many years to supplement their income. She always looked twenty years younger than she really was. In the Town Council's tribute the mayor referred to her "as one of the most notable women the town had ever possessed. She was the mother of sons who had made names for themselves in South Africa and were a credit to King Williams Town."<sup>10</sup>

Six weeks later the crowds once more gathered at the Church site, this time in a festive mood, for the laying of the foundation stone of the *Gutsche Memorial Hall*. The cost, exclusive of the ground and all fittings, amounted to £2,200.

"The pastor of the church (Rev J.A. Baier) presided over the ceremony and Dr Ph Gutsche conducted the choir, which rendered a couple of anthems in the course of the afternoon. The veteran Pastor, Rev Hugo Gutsche, was amongst those present, also several visiting ministers and residents of the district, including His Worship the Mayor Mr B.O. Schoenegevel who said that King was the better for the fact that 50 years ago a young man of the name of Gutsche saw fit to come here. He had

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<sup>10</sup> *Der kleine Sendbote* Nov 1925, pp. 165-166; *The Cape Mercury* 1925, Wed Aug 5; *The SA Baptist* 1925, p. 105-106; Gutsche et al, *Gutsche Chronik*. Compiled by his children, Windhuk: John Meinert, 1939, p. 54; my emphasis.

been a father to the whole borough, and it was right and fitting that they should perpetuate Pastor Gutsche's memory.

"Then the Rev H.J. Batts from Durban was introduced and asked to lay the foundation stone. As a life-long friend, ex-President and executive member of the Baptist Union, Mr Batts declared that

The Gutsche's did not need any memorial in brick and stone. Their names were deeply engraved in the life of that frontier and of the whole of South Africa.

"Pastor Gutsche then spoke a few words of thanks in German. In the course of his remarks the venerable gentleman said he wishes to express gratitude for what had been done in memory of his family. He only desired that what had been done in all weakness might bear in its proper season fruit for eternal life. He wishes prosperity and God's blessing to all, and to Emmanuel Church in particular."<sup>11</sup>

## **The Home Call of Carl Hugo Gutsche (1926)**

With the passing of his life-long companion there was a notable change in his daily routine and a weakening of his constitution. If there are any entries in his diary, it's a word or two about the weather, for instance: 'very hot day - cloudy - like previous day - cold - rested in my room & front veranda. Feel strongly today the forgetfulness of old age, 6 days in Kidds Beach; Giddy and shaky; weak; eyesight bad; cannot read; missed church; too weak' ... *(As a life-long avid reader, his inability to devour books seems to have been a painful affliction!)*

At the back of his 1925 diary he pasted a newspaper cutting with "School Sessions" for 1926. From the irregular and shaky remark on certain days it seems that he never got a 1926 diary - all others from 1865 to 1925 are available and were found in the study after his death. His last two lines read:

"Sunday 20 December 1925: 'Cloudy. Did not go to Church. Rev Aitken preaching'

Monday 21 December 1925: 'Cloudy, occasionally n ... ling'? (*illegible*).

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<sup>11</sup> *Cape Mercury*, 21 Sept 1925 and The S A Baptist Nov 1925:137-138.

Then he puts his pen aside; the remaining 10 pages of 1925 remain blank. No more need or desire to record the events of this life and world. He is ready for the perfect rest after the thrills and labours of his remarkable journey.

His daughter Hulda Egan cared for him during the last weeks. She closed his eyes when his earthly life had expired.

His home-call came on 12 June 1926. The Death Certificate 34382 describes him as *Carl Hugo Gutsche*, male, 83 years & 2 months; a widowed European from Germany who lived and died at 6 Ayliff Str. King Williams T. and was a retired Minister of Religion (Baptist) Cause of death: *Senile Decay* for 5 years; Dr R.N. Pringle M.B. was his medical practitioner.<sup>12</sup>

The minute of the Borough Council Meeting of 16 June 1926 reads:

"Before the meeting the Mayor feelingly referred to the death of the Rev H Gutsche. The reverend gentleman, his Worship said, served for 21 years as Secretary of the Burial Board, of which the Mayor was Chairman, and for 45 years was a member of the Board. Some 60 years ago he left his fatherland, relinquished any claims he had upon that country, came to South Africa to serve his people and became a South African citizen. Those who travelled about the district often saw little churches dotted here and there, standing as monuments to the great work Pastor Gutsche did in the cause of religion and for his people. To his congregation he was known as "father." He was known as Father Gutsche beyond his congregation. By his death King William's Town and South Africa had lost a valuable citizen. He was spared to a ripe old age and begat sons who were playing an important part in the affairs of the country."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Today one would perhaps put it more kindly by simply stating "He died of old age." Possibly he had developed Alzheimer's Disease although this description was unknown at the time; his children said: "He would tell the same story over and over again after very short intervals".

<sup>13</sup> The *Cape Mercury* Tuesday June 15, 1926 printed 11 full length columns on "The late Rev Hugo Gutsche, His Life and Work, A Biographical Sketch, written by his son Dr med Philipp Gutsche. This 'life story' was reprinted in the South African Baptist Magazine, July-August-September 1926.

"On his arrival he found about 300 German Baptists under the leadership of Carsten Langhein, today (1926) there are over 2000 among the German Settlers. He was a regular attendant and a most interesting personality at all Annual Assemblies and for the last few years of his life he held the honoured place of a Life President of the B.U. His apostolic ministry, evangelical and itinerant, resulted in such increase that the churches soon had to have their own ministers His name will live among us as a leader in Christ's cause, instigator and co-founder of the Missionary Society and Baptist Union of S.A. His energy and enthusiasm were amazing."<sup>14</sup>

The *Cape Times* reported on Monday 5 July 1926 on his "Long Ministry of sixty years in SA, where he formed many a church in Kaffraria, his last Emmanuel being now numerically the largest and strongest Baptist Church in the Union."<sup>15</sup> He not only ministered to the spiritual needs of his people, but also, through his knowledge of medicines, to their bodily ailments in days when medical practitioners were few and far between. He was a powerful preacher, a man of widevision, a devout Christian, who served his people and his generation faithfully and well.

In 1944 the two King Churches were re-united once more under the ministry of the Rev J.A. Hendricks MA, with the appropriate name Bethany - Emmanuel Baptist Church. Since then they competed with Porter Street, now First City Baptist Church, Oxford Street East London, for first or second place in the Union; it's been a neck and neck race for decades.

The *Mother Church Frankfurt* was closed down after a moving service on 7 December 1975 because all members had moved towards the coast of East London or into King Williams Town and other Border centres. For the last time, several German hymns were sung and German thanksgiving prayers offered. Speaking with obvious emotion, the last minister

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<sup>14</sup> Part of the 1926/27 SA Baptist Handbook obituary.

<sup>15</sup> His Church Emmanuel had 343 members in 1925, the runner up was Cape Town with 323, then German Zoar-Elm East London 299 and Buffalo Street East London 298 (Baptist Union Handbook 1925). This pattern did continue for about 20 years.

from the Gutsche/Hamburg tradition, Rev Fritz Haus, at the end of the Closing Down Service, pronounced the Benediction in German.<sup>16</sup>

The "Gutsche Churches" had existed as a separate entity for 110 years and born Gutsche's stamp up to the end, in the Oncken tradition. What is a century in world history? Just a fleeting breath. Yet we are vital links between our spiritual ancestors and our children to pass on the precious heritage received for them to renew the faith and enlarge the vision for the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ - till He come.

Today, at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Frankfurt church premises and halls are still being used for services and school purposes by the Roman Catholic Church. The rough quarry stones and rocks are solid and should outlast a few more generations. Gutsche and his pioneers built solidly for the future. He would be the first to acknowledge his shortcomings, that he would have liked to have done more for his Settler communities and, with hindsight, that he would have done some things differently if given another chance. But without exception, from local to national levels, all paid tribute to his contribution towards the needy in raising them from poverty and primitive circumstances to a worthy and meaningful social, intellectual and spiritual life. He used the mostly illiterate and undeveloped "status quo" of his members to fashion and create something of worth and meaning for their future, as a father would with his children.

In all this he did admirably well, yet in humility he gave glory to God for His enabling power and undeserved grace. His response to the eulogies on numerous anniversaries make this abundantly clear.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> SA Baptist: Febr 1976, 6-7.

<sup>17</sup> Golden Wedding 1917, Gutsche Memorial Hall Stone-Laying 1925 and similar occasions.

## Chapter 6: Gutsche's Principles, Attitudes and Teachings

In the foregoing chapters I tried to show how Gutsche earnestly strove to care for the physical, emotional, social, moral and intellectual needs of his flock and their friends and neighbours. I attempted to describe his basic moral and ethical standards which were determined by his upbringing in Halle and motivated by the intrinsic laws of his character. From the facts found in the records I conclude that it is totally wrong to charge Gutsche with "a narrow laager mentality, being concerned with the solely spiritual aspect of his people and leave it there."<sup>1</sup> Nothing could be further from the truth.

Concerning his attitude to Politics we can only marvel how he managed to walk the tightrope wisely and honourably, almost like an acrobat, without crashing amidst the political confusion and conflicts. He did not compromise his ministry and message.

In this he had received an excellent training in his youth. He was a boy when the 1848 revolution disturbed Germany and Oncken's Baptists in Hamburg did not participate in the 'wild orgies of streetgangs,' although they sympathised with their cause and badly wanted change themselves. *They were peace loving and acted in the Anabaptist tradition of non-violence.*

When Gutsche was called up for military duty he joined the Field Hospital Services in Saxony using his gifts and training for the healing of those who were hurting.

In South Africa, the German citizen Hugo Gutsche became a British subject after the death of Queen Victoria; his son Colonel Clement Gutsche was in command of the British Table Bay Defence Force housed in the Cape Town Castle. Many of his young members did their military service during the First World War. On the other hand, among his personal friends were the Afrikaaners Rev Andrew Murray the Younger

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<sup>1</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, pp. 19-20.

and, of course, his 'children' Elder J.D. Odendaal with his Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk in the Free State. He and his doctor son Philipp had close personal contacts with the Blacks and Coloureds on and around the mission stations and schools.<sup>2</sup>

There were those who wanted more radical preaching from the pulpit and political action against the "Natives" who were sometimes ambushing and killing settlers or stealing their cattle. But Gutsche referred them to Article 14 of the Baptist Constitution which charged the *Government* to work for peace and justice.<sup>3</sup> Force, sabotage and civil war would not solve anything, rather bring destruction in its wake too horrible to contemplate.

There was no political party which Gutsche could join without hurting some from his congregations consisting of Coloured, Xhosa, Indian, Zulu and White members. Among his flock were loyalists to the German Emperor Wilhelm (with Bismarck), or Queen Victoria, or President Paul Krüger, or liberal and conservative Britons as well as Afrikaaner zealots with their prejudices against the Blacks and the English. Gutsche felt that political issues could be better dealt with in the context of the Gospel of love than in the fighting arenas of political parties. His son Dr Philipp quite rightly observed "He was true to his calling, never dabbled in politics, commercial undertakings, nor ever attempted to make money."<sup>4</sup>

His calling was to preach the Cross of Christ and Repentance from Sin as the superior way towards a good society of Justice, Morals and Ethics.

One of my biggest problems is the accusation by Dr Kretzschmar that "the Baptist Settlers were incapable of developing a prophetic Christian approach to their frontier context" by which she means that Gutsche did not get involved in the political struggle of Kaffraria on the side of the

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<sup>2</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*. South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken Hamburg 1866:51-54.

<sup>4</sup> Cape Mercury & S A Baptist 1925:130.



Natives.<sup>5</sup> It is my contention, and documented in the previous chapters, that this one solitary minister of his infant disorganised flock of initially a thousand people, first needed to give them religious, educational and social instruction to create a home base from which to work and witness. This was his priority and a super human task which he tackled with a single focus. It was a wise choice!

There was no way, as a Pietist in the Spener-Halle tradition, and as a peace loving Baptist, for Gutsche to take sides and to become politically active, angry and violent. But he grieved over the injustices and calamities on both sides and initiated several meaningful relief programmes to alleviate the sufferings of innocent victims. These acts of charity did not go unnoticed but were deeply appreciated by both sides of the political playing field.

His line of thinking and action was clearly laid down in the Confession and Constitution of Oncken which Gutsche brought to Kaffraria in 1867 and applied in his churches. Article 14 of the 4<sup>th</sup> Edition reads:

"We believe that Governments are ordained by God to reward those who do good and punish the wrongdoers. We are obliged to obey the laws of the land unless they restrict our freedom of religion and conscience ... It is our duty to pray for all authorities that peace and righteousness may prevail ... When required we will take the oath but dare not commit perjury ... If we are called up to defend our country in conflict situations, we should obey but have sympathy and understanding with those who refuse to carry arms or swear an oath, for conscience's sake. We have no problem with any of our members becoming civil servants or occupying Government offices."<sup>6</sup>

This moderate and law-abiding non-violent thinking of Oncken, Gutsche and conservative South African Baptists today is totally incompatible with the Theology of the modern Liberation Theologians, as Jan Vink points out and convincingly argues in his thesis:

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<sup>5</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, 174.

<sup>6</sup> Oncken Hamburg 1866:51-54.

"The Baptist Union is accused of under-involvement in the social and political sphere and is urged to become more involved in the contemporary process to change South Africa into a democratic society.

"An analysis of this theology reveals it to be alien to the conservative, evangelical theological tradition to which South African Baptists have historically held and places it in the category of a neo-Baptist theology.

"This neo-Baptist theology is placed within the context of liberation theology especially as that is expressed in South Africa in the *Kairos Document* and *The Road to Damascus*. In so doing it distances itself from conservative evangelical theology and places itself in a theological category based largely upon sociology. It identifies with what is known as a *theology from below* as distinct from a *theology from above*."<sup>7</sup>

Today's fundamental and traditional theology of South African Baptists would easily and fully identify with Vink. It is based on the Bible and finds a good expression in Luther's Creeds and Calvin's Institutes. Oncken, the Haldane brothers, Spurgeon, Gutsche and the Pietists of Halle held the same beliefs. They remain our spiritual fathers.

## **Baptist Confession and Constitution**

The religious community called Baptists declared in their Confession of Faith that

"It became necessary to state in which points of doctrine we Baptists are one with the universal evangelical Church and where we differ ... These 14 articles are not binding to the individual member's conscience; for we believe that Holy Scripture alone is the final authority and rule for our faith and day to day behaviour. We know the Spirit of Christ will interpret His truth to our hearts."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Jan Vink, *The Impact of Liberation Theology on the Baptist Union of Southern Africa*, PhD, University of Witwatersrand, 1993, Abstract).

<sup>8</sup> Glaubensbekenntnis und Verfassung der Gemeinden getaufter Christen (Baptisten) 15<sup>th</sup> revised edition, Oncken Kassel nd, p. 1+3; but Oncken printed the first edition in Hamburg 1840.

From the start in 1861 the Baptists in Kaffraria ordered their affairs strictly in accordance with the rules and regulations of Oncken's churches in Europe. In cases of doubt or disputes the advice of Hamburg was sought and accepted, until the official South African "Statement of Belief" from the Baptist Union Assembly at Durban in September 1924 took precedent over the old rules from Germany.

Because a Baptist Church is a community of baptised believers "who of their own free will have joined themselves together in a local assembly, they pledge to live together in love as members of one body, to honour God by living holy lives and to walk without blemish as a good example. They will encourage, comfort and caution one another, be missionary minded and seek to advance the cause of Christ."<sup>9</sup>

It was strongly suggested that at the start of a new church the foundation members would solemnly promise that

"As the Holy Spirit led us to accept Jesus Christ as our Lord and Saviour, and having been baptised upon the confession of our faith, we solemnly and joyfully join ourselves together in fellowship and worship.

"We pledge, with the help of the Spirit, to walk in love and holiness and support all functions and concerns of our church. We promise to hold daily family devotions and seek the conversion of our children, relatives and friends. We will be careful and just in all our dealings and business, avoid all gossip, slander and fits of rage; nor will we sell alcoholic beverages or indulge in excessive consumption of intoxicating drinks.

"We want to watch and pray over each other in brotherly love and offer assistance to those in need or sickly, first of all to our own members. We will be friendly, polite and sensitive, not easily be offended but always willing to forgive. In the event of our moving away from Kaffraria we undertake, to have our membership

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<sup>9</sup> Glaubensbekenntnis Kassel nd. 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> ed; the 4<sup>th</sup> ed of 1866 is the one which Gutsche used in 1868.

transferred as soon as possible to another church of our faith and order where we will once again become actively involved."<sup>10</sup>

It was the custom to read this solemn vow from time to time, once or twice a year, during Holy Communion or some other such formal occasion, with the congregation standing; they would then respond with a resounding and sincere 'AMEN, AMEN'.

These three main pillars: faith, believer's baptism, and a voluntary membership of committed born-again Christians only—these were the distinctives which separated the Baptists from the State Churches which grew mainly by baptising all new born babies into the bosom of the church.

Because of his closed membership (of baptised believers), strict application of church discipline and the integrated nature of his churches Gutsche was asked to take the subject of 'The unity and peculiar formation of the German Baptist Churches' for his Presidential Address on Monday night 11 July 1881 at the Assembly in Grahamstown:

"BRETHREN,- for a German Baptist the Presidential honour and onus is a new and unusual feature ... In spite of all our infirmities and weaknesses, we German Baptists form in mind and reality *ONE* large Church ... As members of a small local body we also yield to the wish and will of the larger one, if it does not conflict with any precept of God. Our Church Constitution rests on the same principles as the Independents or Congregationalists ... If one Church departs from our principles or grows into an unhealthy state, her neighbouring Church has the right and duty to admonish such an erring brotherhood. We believe such proceedings to be scriptural and not dangerous for the independence of a Church ... We act similarly in all cases. Love is our freedom; love is our fetter. When one church does not care for another, this appears to us ungodly ... We know of only one separation which we zealously advocate viz: separation from world and sin. Our banner shows the golden inscription "Union! Union!" We endeavour to accept, embrace and appreciate all the praiseworthy and good things which we find in other churches and make them our own.

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<sup>10</sup> Handbüchlein für Mitglieder der deutschen Baptisten-Gemeinden in Süd-Afrika, Oncken, p. Cassel, 1899, p. 10-11.

"Our German Churches cling with a warm heart and cordial love to the sister Churches in the United Kingdom and United States but for all that we do not forget, that we are a peculiar formation of the Lord, and that we have a history of our own."<sup>11</sup>

Gutsche and his helpers spent much of their time counselling, constraining, encouraging, advising, cautioning, admonishing and pastoring their flock. His diaries and all church minutes are filled with items concerning this vital ministry, commanded in Scripture:

"Remain innocent of the blood of all men ... by guarding yourself and all the flock of which the Holy Spirit has made you an overseer. Be shepherds of the church of God, which He bought with his own blood ... So be on your guard! Remember that for three years I never stopped warning each of you night and day with tears" (Acts 20:28+31).

This passage is one of the warrants and requisites for Baptists to engage in biblical church discipline.

## **Church Discipline and Code of Conduct**

The Golden Rule and basic procedure for all 'cases' of Church Discipline was found in Matthew 18:15-20

"If a brother sins against you, go and show him his fault, just between the two of you. If he listens to you, you have won your brother over. But if he will not listen, take one or two others along, so that every matter may be established by the testimony of two or three witnesses. If he refuses to listen to them, tell it to the church; and if he refuses to listen even to the church, treat him as you would a pagan or a tax collector."

The purpose of church discipline was to make sure that all members would seek to honour God by being clean-living examples in a corrupt and fallen world.

To be concerned with the public behaviour and moral walk of his members was not snooping or spying on their private lives to interfere in

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<sup>11</sup> *The South African Handbook 1881*, p. 14-20, Crocott Steam Machine Printer, Grahamstown, Church Square. The full text of this presidential address is found in Supplement #7.

a judgmental and autocratic way, but rather to offer helpful assistance. As every beautiful garden has fences and boundaries, so God's people should be separate and distinct from the world and demonstrate to secular society the Christian alternative of Holy Living:

"Dear friends, let us love one another, for love comes from God ... If anyone says I love God and hates his brother, he is a liar ... Whoever loves God must also love his brother." (1 John 4:7,20-21).

Quite apart from the Biblical command "Be Ye Holy for I am Holy" it must be remembered that this emphasis on Church Discipline has its roots in the Pietism of Spener and Tholuck in Halle, where Gutsche experienced his conversion. He grew up in this climate of spiritual renewal and knew of the Wesleyan Revival in England, read Spurgeon and Moody, was aware of the Keswick Holiness Conventions and Andrew Murray in the Cape—he was one in spirit with these men who cried out loudly—like the Old Testament prophets: 'Live Out What You Believe'.

This was the key to and priority of Gutsche's ministry: When he had nursed and strengthened the inner devotional life of his members, then they would automatically become better citizens of South Africa.

It placed a heavy burden on Gutsche's shoulders. He felt keenly obliged to live out what he preached. His son Dr Philipp observed

Only those who knew him intimately have an idea—and that only faintly—of his inner life with God. A more childlike and implicit faith it is impossible to conceive of; a more genuine servant of God one cannot picture. The impetuous nature of his younger years brought him sometimes into positions which he keenly felt afterwards, and many a night did he walk the floor of his room 'wrestling with God' for forgiveness. This sincerity and merciless judgment of his own errors made him at once so successful as a preacher and sympathetic to others as a minister."<sup>12</sup>

His first 'case' of arbitration happened barely 10 days after his welcome and is recorded in his diary on 30 12 1867, supplementary notes: In matters *Luhtz* versus *Born*, concerning the ownership of a certain flour sack which had mysteriously disappeared. When brother Luhtz asked for some salt from his neighbour Born, he saw his missing bag in her pantry

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<sup>12</sup> Cape Mercury & S A Baptist Obituaries 25 Oct 1926, p. 131.

and immediately claimed it from sister Born. She declared it was hers and five years old. Luhtz retorted, it's new and has a hole at the one side. A Mr Mallet managed to take the bag from Mrs Born and returned it to the rightful owner who was glad and grateful. But Mrs Born launched a complaint against brother Mallet for stealing her sack and giving it to Mr Luhtz. Hugo Gutsche had to decide at the church meeting whether Mallet was guilty of theft and who was the real owner of the sack. He needed the wisdom of Solomon. This little incident may seem ridiculously trivial but depicts the poverty and problems of the Settlers, to whom even the loss of a little second-hand flour bag was a disaster.

The misuse of or overindulgence in alcohol posed a serious problem and occupied much time at many business meetings. C. Grimm was involved in a court case because he had sold beer without the required licence. This resulted in bad publicity in the local paper and compromised the good name of the church. He explained that his agent in Hamburg had sent him the 40 boxes of beer. His request not to dispatch the consignment came too late. When challenged by the church he replied "I have no further comment; I drank the beer myself" which, of course, was a lie, according to the court evidence. On top of it, Grimm and Fehrmann had to declare bankruptcy in 1886 because Ketterer swindled them out of huge sums of money. It was expected of all Baptist traders to be absolutely honest in all their dealings and use only standard measures and weights. Irregularities in shops and market places would only bring the name of Christ and His church into disrepute.<sup>13</sup>

For the best part of 10 years brother Carl Franz had a drinking problem and was regularly admonished and temporarily disqualified as a member, all the more as he was a Sunday School teacher and children had sharp eyes and an acute sense of smell. He was involved in street fights and quarrels and found reeling and staggering across the streets of King Williams Town. He still attended all meetings of the church and was eventually restored to a sober life and witness. In fact, his latter years became more fruitful than the earlier ones.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Church Minutes 1883:284,302,491 and II 1889:111.

<sup>14</sup> Church Minutes 1881:176, 1883:323, 1885:419, 1886:469, 472.

A classical example of Church Discipline was the "Infamous *Ehmke* versus *Grunewald* Case" which created a stir throughout South Africa because of its tremendous publicity in the Daily Dispatch and Cape Mercury (Pastor's Slander Action), which was heard in the Eastern Districts Division of the Supreme Court at Grahamstown when the Acting Judge President Mr Justice Hutton delivered his final judgment on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1920. Pastor Ehmke of Bethany Baptist Church had sued one of his ex-members Maurice Grunewald for the sum of £3,000 as damages for defamation of character. The case occupied the court from 17-25 November 1920. A great number of witnesses were called on each side. Pastor Ehmke lost the case and therewith his pastorate in King and—for that matter—anywhere else among Baptists in South Africa. For it was an essential law that in cases of disputes and quarrels one would never go to a secular courts but abide by the decision of the relevant church boards and committees. Pastor Ehmke complained that

"Maurice Grunewald had not paid his subscription toward the pastor's stipend. When challenged he replied that he would not give a penny because the pastor was unfit for his office by committing adultery with Hilda Bauer, had indecently assaulted Rebecca Ballack and passionately fondled Myrtle Meier. Ehmke denied these charges before the whole church and had him deprived of his membership. Grunewald repeated his allegations before the German Baptist Association Board under the chairmanship of pastor Paul Schnell, Keiskama Hoek. At this hearing Schnell added his own story: When visiting Ehmke recently, a young maid with an open blouse and disshevelled hair had opened the door and Ehmke, in his pyjamas, was playing with her little baby, born out of wedlock. In his study Schnell found two condoms on the desk. Ehmke explained he was using them for his sore finger as a cover and protection; his barber Kayser had recommended this 'bandage'. They had offered shelter to the young woman with child out of Christian charity.

"Testimonies were obtained but Ehmke still denied any misbehaviour. The United Conference found that at the very least Ehmke had acted very unwisely and carelessly on many occasions and that the rumours about his erotic advances toward young females had persisted from 1913 to 1919; even black maids and women of King complained that the pastor touched or hit their buttocks."



Unfortunately, after this reprimand, Ehmke went to court. Mr Justice Hutton found that

"the persistent rumours with regard to the plaintiff's moral conduct were bringing the whole Baptist community into disrepute. The church, according to their constitution, was jealously guarding the purity of the church; they acted correctly. The statements and testimonies during the inquiry were made on a privileged occasion, without malice or spite, before a closed membership meeting only for the sole purpose to protect the general interest and good name of the Church."<sup>15</sup>

Ehmke lodged an appeal but then disappeared before the next hearing.

### **His Cultural, Social and Moral Concerns**

To Gutsche and his helpers, Public Enemy Number One was certainly the misuse of, and overindulgence in, alcoholic beverages, among all race groups. During frustrations, crop failures, sicknesses or hopeless poverty not a few settlers took to drink. The Blacks often followed the bad example of their 'masters' desiring to find out what the strong stuff of the Whites was like and soon acquired a taste for it.<sup>16</sup> What was worse, several traders sold alcohol freely and some farmers deliberately paid their labourers partly in liquor.

From the start, Hugo Gutsche and his churches petitioned the King Licensing Board and later even Parliament in Cape Town to tighten the liquor laws and allow them to exercise their democratic right of "Local Option." They were always successful; licences were not granted when Gutsche and his churches objected.<sup>17</sup>

Ten years later the Town Council of King reported that "the selling of *amatomba* (malt of caffircorn) to the Blacks was a nefarious trade, carried on principally by small German shop-keepers." In an endeavour

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<sup>15</sup> East London 'Daily Dispatch' 11 December 1920 and 'The Cape Mercury' King Williams Town 18,20 & 23 Dec 1920, my emphasis.

<sup>16</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*. South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, 8.

<sup>17</sup> Full text of a sample petition against the Breidbach Hotel Licence application, dated September 1878, is given at "Supplement #8."

"to wipe out this blame resting upon us as Europeans, Germans and Christians, the churches in Conference decided (24 April 1889), because the trade of *amatomba* had grown out of control over the last 5 years, to circularise all traders in the district and beg them to give up trade in Tomba under all circumstances, or at least conditionally."<sup>18</sup>

Only one, a Mr A.Crawford, vowed to stop the trade, 14 Germans and 2 others were prepared to quit, if all other traders did the same.<sup>19</sup> Small battles were won, but the war against liquor was lost.

Mary Gutsche was called "Co-Pastor" by her husband, as she shared in a remarkable way in his ministry. At her death the Press paid tribute to this 'remarkable woman, who was no ordinary one'. She shared her husband's concern for social engagement and upliftment of all inhabitants in Kaffraria:

"She organised, educated and guided her people, was a leader in Sunday School and Youth Work and started choirs, Bible Classes and music ministries in all the churches – her husband could not sing a note! Many of the original German immigrants learned to read and write thanks to Mary's tuition She was ever ready to help the poor and needy far beyond the confines of her churches, for instance as secretary and treasurer of the "Ladies Benevolent Society," a member of the King Orphanage, and the Retirement Home for Women. She gave private piano lessons for many years to supplement their income."<sup>20</sup>

The available documents testify clearly that Gutsche and his churches did everything in their power to structure and improve the lives of their people, and succeeded. Within a generation or two they had matured from poor emigrants to useful nation builders, because they had not restricted the Christian Gospel only to the private and spiritual concern of the individual.

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<sup>18</sup> From the circular sent to all traders in the district, original is filed with the Gutsche Papers.

<sup>19</sup> The full story is found in Supplement #8

<sup>20</sup> 'Der kleine Sendbote 1925, p. 165166; 'The Cape Mercury' 5 Aug 1925; 'The SA Baptist'1925, p. 105-106, my emphasis.

## His Sermons: Gutsche as Preacher and Teacher

We found hundreds of sermon notes and messages in files, books, diaries and magazines which Gutsche prepared and delivered. We will discuss and analyse a few of them, after all, preaching was his first love and most important tool in building up his people and churches. To his preaching about Jesus and His Gospel the converts responded in repentance and faith. There was no other way into God's Kingdom nor to becoming a member of his church save through the preaching of the Word.

The testimony of August Peinke from 1915 illustrates this point;

"When our brother Gutsche preached for the first time in Keiskama Hoek I was present. He was preaching from a text of John. It was the verse which tells us about the trumpet of the archangels. Gutsche was standing under the window. Suddenly he turned his ear toward the window calling: "I seem to hear the trumpets already" and swinging round to me—me alone—asking: "ARE YOU READY?" The arrow hit the right spot! My conscience told me—no, you are NOT ready! ... I started to read my Bible and to pray by myself. It became certain to me that the Lord was merciful on me poor sinner ... My baptism took place in Keiskama Hoek by brother Gutsche which made me a member of his congregation. Later my wife was also baptised by brother Gutsche in King Williams Town ... My third eldest son Hugo felt the calling of God to become a minister. Since 1913 he is studying in Glasgow and London and I hope that he may become a worthy preacher."<sup>21</sup>

This clearly shows how Gutsche by "preaching the Word" took it for granted that his hearers responded to the moving of the Holy Spirit during the services. He preached for a verdict. Every sermon of his ended with a clear personal appeal for surrender and faith. They were evangelistic in that no one present could avoid a decision for or against Christ. They were never boring, flowery, irrelevant or comfortably non-committal. It was dangerous to listen to him. After August Peinke was born again, he took his wife to church, soon she and their children became Christians; their son Hugo heard the call for missionary work among the Xhosa of the Transkei from Gutsche's pulpit and served for 30

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<sup>21</sup> For a full account see Supplement #1.

years in the field.<sup>22</sup> Several of his children and grandchildren are in the Baptist ministry or missionary medical and educational work—all through the effective preaching of Gutsche in Keiskama Hoek in 1868 on the "Trumpet of the Angel!"

Through his preaching he reached all the hamlets and villages in Kaffraria with amazing responses.

Another sample is his sermon JESU WORT (The Word of Jesus), about the Faith of the Centurion as recorded in Matthews 8:5-13. Gutsche used the argument of the Roman Captain to make his three points under the Heading'

'Just say the Word'

1. GO—into all the world (Great Commission of Matth 28);
2. COME—unto me all who are heavy laden (lost or desperate?)
3. DO THIS—accept forgiveness and faith, in total obedience and surrender, for eternity is too long for you to be wrong.<sup>23</sup>

He always builds his sermons around the text and has at least two or three modern illustrations in every message. He is a good story teller and makes the Bible come alive. He not only stirs the emotions and grips the hearts of his hearers but also appeals to their intellect and will, giving them every time sound biblical teachings on doctrine and moral-ethical standards for everyday living.

### ***Every Christian is a Soldier!***

Sermon preached in King Williams Town on 2 May 1885:

*Text:* 1 Tm 6:12 "Fight the good fight of the faith. Take hold of eternal life to which you were called when you made your good confession in the presence of many witnesses."

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<sup>22</sup> J.E. Ennals, *A Half Century of Missionary Enterprise 1892-1942*, South African Baptist Missionary Publications, 1942, 14.

<sup>23</sup> This message was submitted in 1914 to "Der Zionspilger" for publication and re-printed in "Der kleine Sendbote" 1925, p. 131-133. *The complete sermon is found in Supplement #9.*

1. *A good soldier*: enlisted in Christ's army from the moment of our conversion, with the binding oath of loyalty. Desertion is a shameful criminal offence. If wounded or killed in action for Christ's sake we will receive honour and praise here and eternally.

2. *A good fight*: against the devil, his wicked world, the temptations of our sinful nature and our own fears and unbelief.

3. *A good weapon*: we are clothed with the armour of God (Eph 6) i.e. truth, righteousness, faith, sword of the Spirit, Word of God and prayer; superior weapons indeed!

4. *A good captain*: Our General came up from the ranks (Heb 2:14-18), and is able to lead and help in the battle.

5. *A good victory*: the outcome is sure, as inevitable as David's battle against Goliath.

6. *A good reward*: a golden crown, white robes, eating from the trees in Paradise, as God's own children; He knows us by name. It's all waiting for us in Heaven.

Then follows a twofold closing appeal:

1. You believers who like Timothy have confessed Christ in baptism before many witnesses: Be a hero in Christ's army! Be strong, be a *better* soldier and throw out fear!
2. And to all others: it's time you joined Christ's army, obeyed His command and shared His victory and peace! Otherwise you will have nothing to show at the end of your life and be lost eternally. Accept Him now as Captain and Saviour.

Every sermon is meticulously written in ink in his own hand, with very small letters (Sütterlin), usually on four pages, with many Bible quotations and several illustrations from present-day events. When Gutsche finally went into the pulpit he used an extra small slip of paper with an outline in telegramme style, condensed to a quarter from the original manuscript. Spurgeon as "The Prince of Preachers" was the role model for most Baptist Pastors in Europe and America; Gutsche knew him personally and received most weekly Tabernacle Sermons by mail. Oncken in Hamburg-Kassel published all of Spurgeon's books in excellent German translations; even today Oncken holds the exclusive German copyrights. It

might be fairly safe to "crib" Spurgeon today, with excellent results and blessings (because the man and his message are timeless, biblically sound and picturesque), but in Gutsche's time this 'kidnapping' couldn't be done (unless properly acknowledging the author) because in Kaffraria's Baptist circles Spurgeon's sermons were used by lay readers when no pastor was available, which was the case most of the time during the first decade or two.

As a final example of Gutsche's homiletics, style, material, content, structure and treatment of Bible passages etc I selected the sermon about "Joseph, an early model and forerunner of Jesus Christ" preached in King Williams Town on 25.1.1871. Gutsche loved to use Old Testament stories, make a historical bridge to Christ and then allegorize and apply his texts to the concrete circumstances of the Settlers. One of his firm beliefs was that all of the Old Testament speaks of Christ, in the law, history and poetry sections (he found Him on every page); the Patriarchs, Kings and Prophets were his favourite characters. As he was a student of Greek and Latin, he often quoted Greek Fables or Roman history to make his point. This was very important, also for the many children in the congregation who would sit with their parents through the whole service (no cribs or creche in those days!). Gutsche made sure that he captured and held the attention of all age groups from the opening hymn to the 'Amen' after the benediction.

### ***Joseph, early model and forerunner of Jesus Christ***

*Text:* Genesis chapters 44 and 45.

=I. Joseph's Low Estate: (Christ's servanthood and homelessness):

Hated by his brothers. (Herod tried to kill Jesus, pharisees and rulers crucified him).

Sold to Midianites for 20 silver pieces (Judas sold Jesus for 30 silver coins).

Tempted by Potiphar's wife. (Jesus' temptation Mt 4. Also 'He was tempted in every way, just as we are, yet was without sin' Heb 4:15).

Imprisoned. (Jesus suffered humiliation, prison and mockery under Pontius Pilate).

## II. Joseph's Exaltation. (Christ's Resurrection and Ascension)

First after Pharaoh. (Christ is God's Son but equal with the Father).

Joseph's love is behind punishing his brothers (God's great love behind Christ's crucifixion; no forgiveness without justice).

Joseph hosts a Royal Banquet. (Christ 'prepares a table before me, my cup overflows' Ps 23:5).

Judah as pledger and security. (Christ 'speaks to the Father in our defence' 1 Jn 2:1).

Joseph makes himself known to his brothers with tears of joy (Jesus reveals himself to His disciples, Saul of Tarsus and all of us when we accept Him with tears of joy).

Joseph: "You intended to harm me but God intended it for good, for the saving of many lives. ("Christ died that all who believe in Him shall have eternal life " Jn 3:16).

Joseph supplies his family with an abundance of food. (Jesus is able to do immeasurably more than we ask or imagine ... Eph 3:20)

His numerous sermon notes as well as the four samples given above are ample proof that *all* his preaching—Old or New Testament—was *Christ centred*. He found his Scriptural reasons for this in Col 2:3, 2:9 and 1:18

"In Christ are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge ... In Christ all the fullness of the Deity lives in bodily form ... Christ is the *Head of the Body*, the church."

And because of the Lordship of Christ, Oncken and Gutsche were unable to subordinate their witness and preaching to any political philosophy; be it right-wing, left-wing or centre. They were not influenced by contemporary moods and postures. They could not resort to violence and at the same time claim the leadership of Christ. They did not want to become tools of politicians. It would have meant to surrender their churches to the manipulation of politicians for their own ends. They valued their independence and challenged any ideology which conflicted with the biblical principles of love, forgiveness and non-violence.

We have found from the study of his notes and diaries that he must have delivered about 10,000 sermons, messages, speeches and Bible studies during the 60 years of his ministerial life. Often he was expected to preach two or three times a day. His January 1868 Diary entries are typical:

"Friday and Saturday night Bible Studies from 8 pm to 1 am, with two sermons during the day in Frankfurt. On Sunday two messages in Hannover. Monday sermon and churchmeeting in Dohne/Stutterheim until midnight, to be continued on Tuesday morning 07:00 with a second business meeting, sermon and baptism in the Kubusie river, followed by Holy Communion. Wednesday afternoon Breidbach church meeting and that evening service in King Williams Town. Thursday morning Fort Murray and then the whole weekend at Bodiam/Keiskama Mouth with two business meetings and 2 sermons."

As he consistently used the method of expository preaching rather than topical subjects, he was never at a loss for material or in danger of "riding his hobby horse" or becoming dry, predictable and repetitive in his themes and ideas. He preached strictly from his biblical text with faithful background analysis but making it relevant for the present. God's Word was such a goldmine of inspiration that he himself and his hearers were properly fed with the biblical ethical and moral standards of holy living and challenges toward faith in Jesus Christ. He touched on social, political and other secular issues every time as he applied his passage to the up to date practical needs of his settlers.

But not the other way round: To select a subject or heading for his own ideas and at the end trying to find a Bible text or phrase to back up preconceived human theories, as it is a wide-spread custom today. The sermon notes and manuscripts prove that his preaching was not only Christ-centred but always based on a meticulous exegesis of the original sources (Hebrew and Greek). Latin, English and German translations were additional helps for interpretation. And he put it over in such a way that all his people, young and old, man or woman, could understand what God was saying to them.

We observe in the sermons and homilies of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century that all preaching of Gutsche and the Baptists/Pietists around Oncken and Spurgeon had this two-pronged focus:



1. Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and
2. Wait daily for His imminent Return;

As He came to Bethlehem the first time, so He will appear in person the second time to establish His Kingdom:

"In the presence of God and of Christ who will judge the living and the dead, and in View of his Appearing and his kingdom, I give you this charge: Preach the word" (2 Tm 4:1).

As Gutsche always expounded his texts very carefully from what was there, the return of Christ was his theme whenever Scripture demanded it. He would never withhold or ignore any truth which he discovered from his textual exegesis but preached the stories of God's revelation in the Bible faithfully, just as it was written, even if "they were so far removed from the dominant religious ideas of our times..."<sup>24</sup>

How extraordinary! Do we understand Villa Vicencio to suggest that, if current dominant modern religious ideas are so far removed from the Bible, then we must bend, modernize and adapt Scripture until it harmonises with our preconceived secular or political ideas at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century? Gutsche couldn't do such a thing; it would get his message *out of focus*!

This Second Coming of our Lord was imminent, as the new Seventh Day Adventist movement claimed.<sup>25</sup> Darby's Plymouth Brethren illustrated it in their dispensational charts. The commentaries on Daniel and Revelation, just off the press, explained that Christ himself would soon personally judge the powerful evil rulers.<sup>26</sup> There was no need, nor any hope, to 'improve politics' by human efforts at this late stage. In Halle Christians' circles on and off the campus this emphasis on holy living in view of the parousia of our Lord was a priority.

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<sup>24</sup> Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1988, pp. 196-197.

<sup>25</sup> Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopaedia*, London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894., p. 2581.

<sup>26</sup> \*For the Evangelical shift from Post- to Premillennialism see: Klaus Fiedler, *Interdenominational Faith Missions in Africa. History and Ecclesiology*, Mzuni Press, 2018, pp. 320ff.

Keil, Delitzsch and Wellhausen created a stir by their research commentaries and revived the studies around the Second Coming of Christ. Lange's Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical Commentary as well as Hengstenberg's and Karl August Auberlen's writings added impetus to the search for the key to the prophetic passages of Scripture, now being opened up by scholars from the original Hebrew and Greek. The Pietists in their Bible Study groups took up the message of the prophets, especially Daniel's vision of the Seventy Weeks and Heseekiah's future predictions for the Temple and New Covenant.

The Confession of Faith and Constitution of Gutsche's Baptist Churches stated clearly in Article 14 'On the Last Things': "We firmly believe and confess that Jesus Christ will return in Glory and Majesty "

He had two special books on *Daniel* by Dr H. Alberts on his shelves "Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Keilschriftforschung" and "Daniels Gesicht von den siebenzig Wochen—neue Lösung eines alten Bibel Rätsels."<sup>27</sup> The author had signed them as personal gifts to Hugo Gutsche, who shared most views with the writer and preached along those lines.

Alberts relates how Daniel the prophet taught that history revolves in cycles, with amazing consequences. God the Creator of the Universe makes events happen according to His eternal plan and purpose. His chief end is the Salvation of the fallen world and the gathering together into His Church of those who are called and believe in His Son Jesus Christ. Thus lost Paradise will be restored at the end of the present age when the climax of history will occur: The Second Coming of Christ. According to Alberts the Book of Daniel shows in an historical overview:

- 1.) After the Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian and Greek Kingdoms, the Roman Empire after BC 27 under Augustus facilitated the birth of Christ and spread Christianity. "When the time had fully come, God sent his Son." Galatians 4:4.
- 2.) During the Middle Ages discoveries by adventurous scientists like Columbus, Dias, Copernicus, Gutenberg and others planted the seeds of enquiry, reason and enlightenment. It also brought the Reformation under Dr Martin Luther and restored biblical values and teachings. 100 years later this had deteriorated into dead orthodoxy

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<sup>27</sup> Alberts 1893 and 1896.

and formal rituals which were empty of meaning and heartfelt devotion.

3.) However, the Revival movements of the Wesleys, Zinzendorf's Moravian Brethren and Spener's Pietistic Stubenversammlungen (Cottage Meetings) brought heart and holiness back into the Protestant faith. Daniel chapter 2:43-45 showed them (in Albert's understanding), that the second advent of Christ was drawing very near.

Gutsche and his German Baptist Settlers of 1858 believed in the Theology of Survival by faith amidst hardship and struggle because of the Certainty of Christ's Second Coming to reward the faithful and judge the unbelievers. He preached that the God of history was in charge.

It was not only the quality and method of his sermon preparation, but the excellence and oratorical skill of his delivery which made it a pleasure to listen. He had something to say and said it well. His doctor-son Philipp wrote in 1926:

With his deep, resonant, marvellously powerful and clear voice, he used to carry his audiences away with him and play on their heartstrings with the master hand of Divine influence. His English vocabulary was remarkably rich and varied, but his Teutonic pronunciation marred his deliverance—especially in the later years."<sup>28</sup>

He did what he could do best and enjoyed most: Preaching. He did what he came to Africa for: To gather the flock who had been without a shepherd for six years; to establish and organise proper congregations with leaders and efficient administration.

He came to fulfill his Calling as missionary, pastor, healer and educator and was firmly convinced that through his faithful exegesis and contextual Bible teaching he would build up his people's character, guide and stimulate their intellectual, moral and ethical discernment which would inevitably lead to their wholesome social upliftment and make them better citizens.

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<sup>28</sup> Cape Mercury 15 June 1926 and SA Baptist Aug, Sept, Oct, Nov. 1926.

In the providence of God Oncken picked Carl Hugo Gutsche to start the Baptist Churches in South Africa—and not someone else. It is too terrible even to contemplate what would have happened if, perhaps, an ordinary village lay preacher with a couple of years' elementary schooling might have arrived from somewhere to take charge of the infant and disunited work. But Oncken knew full well what Carsten Langhein in Frankfurt needed.

God moved in a mysterious way His wonders to perform and provided according to His promise:

"I will place shepherds over them who will tend them, and they will no longer be afraid or terrified" (Jeremiah 23:4).

Gutsche always acknowledged that it was the grace and favour of God alone which prepared him for his life work. His parents gave him the best education available, although they had other plans for him. And Gutsche knew deep within his heart that he was well qualified to tackle the Kaffrarian task, physically, mentally, academically and spiritually. So he came with great liberty and joy.

He never apologised that he came from the upper class society or that he was a white European person. He accepted himself as what he was and how God had made, equipped and called him. None of us, in fact, is able to choose our parents but we are grateful to God who in His wisdom ordained us with the potential we have, and will use it to His glory.

At the death of his wife Mary it was said of her "She was no ordinary woman."

Neither was her husband Carl Hugo Gutsche "an ordinary man!"

## Chapter 7: Conclusions

In this final chapter I would like to critically evaluate and summarise Gutsche's life and principles, as well as analyze his methods and *raison d'être* as he established schools and missions by his preaching, teaching, pastoral care and social concern.

Every person has a character with trends and qualities which develop gradually, organically and fluidly as life progresses. Therefore, it is difficult to systemise or categorise Gutsche's many-sided ministries into time frames, sections or compartments. However, his life clearly and powerfully reflects the English-German evangelical theology of the Puritan - Pietistic revival atmosphere of Spurgeon, Oncken and Tholuck, that deeply influenced his life. For Gutsche to have acted or re-acted in any other but the peaceful spiritual way would be "out of character"!

I will now attempt to substantiate and highlight my findings and arguments from the earlier chapters *and reply to charges made against him and the German Baptist Settlers*.

From his 'track record' and well documented *modus operandi* during his sixty years' ministry it is evident that he achieved what he came out to do—by the providence, grace and enabling power of God. As Oncken was the father of the Continental Baptists so Gutsche inaugurated and boosted the German Baptist cause in Southern Africa, in co-operation with his British colleagues.

As an ordained Pastor with several years' experience and Oncken as his mentor, he had the vital inner spiritual authority to win over those who created or promoted factions. After his arrival all division ceased and people willingly accepted his leadership; Carsten Langhein and his 300 members co-operated fully. He was now enjoying Freedom of Religion for the first time and had cordial relations with all civic leaders and denominations, except with the Lutherans who complained that the original seven Baptists under Carsten Langhein had started "an Anabaptist Movement, and a great number of Lutherans joined the Baptists who had members in every single settlement." This meant that a few years later almost half the original Lutherans were found in the Baptist camp which caused considerable tension, until during the

lightning and thunder of the two World Wars all Germans, Lutherans, Baptists, Catholics or whatever, ran for shelter and huddled together like frightened sheep, but now good friends through adversity. Many of their clergy shared rooms and barracks in the Concentration Camps of Southern Africa, for they were declared enemies of the State.<sup>394</sup>

To gain as many converts as possible for Christ and empower them through education and vocational training, thereby leading the poverty-stricken pioneers toward full citizenship in their newly adopted country—these were Gutsche's goals and priorities which he and his settlers achieved within a generation.

- *He responded gladly to the Call.* Since his conversion he possessed an inner compulsion and compassion for missionary work in Africa; which means that he did not come for *political reasons or as an adventurer* as many other colonists did; he came as an ambassador for Christ with the Divine mandate of Mt 28. He even applied to join the Rhenish Mission but was not accepted. Just as well, otherwise we might have lost him to the Baptist cause in South Africa.

- He came as a *qualified dispensing Chemist* to heal the sick. As a healer he made a strong impact on the community by providing physical support as a vital addition to his spiritual ministry. His son Philipp, a medical doctor himself, had this to say in the obituary for his father:<sup>395</sup>

In the opinion of many, however, he did the greatest good as medical attendant; in those days the doctors were few in number and frequently out of town. He had gained an unparalleled knowledge of the pharmacopoea (sic) of his time as a dispensing chemist and had added continuously thereto by private study. Medicine as such was to him a fascinating hobby. His fame as a healer eclipsed in certain sections of the populace that of any medical man of the time and his clientele was numerous. Of course, the human element among the latter might account for much, because they received not only advice for nothing but also got medicines, pills, powders, etc., thrown in. Especially during the enteric-epidemic of the last Kafir war, his care,

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<sup>394</sup> Heinz von Delft, *Kirchbau am Kap*. Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1993, pp. 4 and 67.

<sup>395</sup> Cape Mercury 15 June 1926 and SA Baptist Oct 1926; my emphasis.

unremitting attention, and employment of the then new cold water spongings; was responsible for many a life being saved."

- In addition, he saw himself as an *itinerant evangelist* in the Oncken tradition, seeking to gain hundreds and thousands more who were willing to become Christians by repentance and faith; he regarded the whole of Southern Africa as his parish.

- He came as a *Pioneer* fully aware that he had to start de novo in the tradition of the Continental, British and American (Ana-) Baptists, as architect, builder and creator of a Free Church Denomination on the principles of Holy Scripture. Oncken in Germany had done the same forty years earlier. The foundations were vital; should he start wrongly, his efforts would soon be frustrated. He could not afford to be side-tracked by fashionable or popular trends which went against the spirit and letter of the Bible, or take short cuts.

All pioneer immigrants of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century had the same problem: They were ill-prepared, like apprentices who had much to learn. The magistrates, soldiers and traders knew little of native customs, traditional cultures or political science, the pastors and missionaries held no diplomas in social anthropology or tropical psychology. They all had to do their "on the job training" for years, with trial and error, until they saw the light and found better ways.

- Having received an excellent classical, theological and humanistic training, Gutsche came as an *Educator*, determined to lift up the standard of all South Africans intellectually, socially and culturally, by teaching them to read, write and reckon. He established schools, wherever possible. Here we have one of his strongest social engagements which went so far that one of the conditions for Baptist membership states

"Every one must be able to read the Word of God except in cases of mental - emotional incapacity or other disabilities like blindness etc ... Where public schools exist it is the duty of parents to send their children regularly. In all other cases a brother should volunteer, or get appointed, to teach the ignorant (sic) children and young people several days or evenings each week for the payment of a small fee, or in kind, one way or the other. If parents ignore this rule or are negligent, they will have to appear before the churchmeeting for

censure. If some are too poor, teachers will be paid from local church funds."<sup>396</sup>

The records reveal and his son Dr Phil observes in the above mentioned obituary "that his members frequently blamed him for caring more for the schools than his church." As he was colourblind and had no racial prejudice, he included all tribes and tongues in his programme. One of his famous sayings went

"I firmly believe that the soul of a black man is as precious in the sight of God the Father as the soul of a white man. Our Saviour paid the same price for a Hottentott (sic) or Bushman as he paid for a European. He gave His life and His blood for each of them."<sup>397</sup>

The sacrificial, non-racial and all-embracing ministries, viz cultural, medical and social ones, of Gutsche and his helpers, made the virgin regions of Kaffraria a better place for immigrants and indigenous peoples alike.

## **The Supreme and Final Authority of Scripture**

As shown in Chapter 4, theologically Gutsche was happy with Luther's Sola Scriptura, Calvin's Praedestinatio and Oncken's Scottish Reformed ideas, practised in the English Free Church-Congregational manner. He preached and taught nothing else but Bible doctrines of the Evangelical and Pietistic persuasion. Oncken's and Spurgeon's advice and guidance were frequently sought in matters of doubt or dispute. The 'Confession of Faith' and the 'Constitution' were important guidelines for the new churches. If anything in doctrine or practice went against the letter or spirit of the Bible, then it was unacceptable (Article 1 of the Constitution). Gutsche strove to model and organize his new causes on the pattern of the Acts of the Apostles as closely as possible. To discover the New Testament church with born-again believers only and to practise the priesthood of all believers, was an exciting exercise for him. He never prescribed anything without scriptural attestation. *How did the Apostles do it in Scripture?* was the concern of his pastors and members when

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<sup>396</sup> Resolutions and Rules from Conferences in Kaffraria 1868-1882, Oncken 1883, p. 11 & 8.

<sup>397</sup> From his Response at their Golden Wedding Reception 8 Dec 1917, cf 254.



uncertainties arose. This policy is demonstrated rather powerfully in the thousands of pages of church business meetings when matters and cases were resolved and dealt with "in the spirit of Scripture." Usually, when differences arose, one side gave in "for peace's sake."<sup>398</sup> It would go too far to quote more examples which could easily be found at random.

On no account would Gutsche be puzzled or become confused if per chance "the Bible texts were so far removed from the *dominant religious ideas of our times*."<sup>399</sup> He would not bend or modernise Scripture to make it palatable.

## **The Traditional Evangelical Reformed Theology**

19<sup>th</sup> Century "liberal and enlightened" ideas were unacceptable to him. In Chapter One I documented how the fermenting influences of rational and 'scientific' theories and discoveries swept across Europe during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The German universities had become real hotbeds of 'modernism.'

It cannot be overemphasised how providential and formative the first twenty years of Gutsche's domicile and education in Halle were, where Friedrich August Tholuck taught from 1826-1877, a champion of Orthodoxy, Pietism and Reformed Puritism; and where August Hermann Francke's orphanages and schools were memorials to this compassionate practical theologian who put Christianity into social action. Both had a deep-rooted aversion against modernism and deviation from pure Biblicism. Halle is forever unthinkable without those two theological giants.

Gutsche would remain true to these Bible-based principles. All his attitudes and actions as pastor and missionary find their explanation in this reformed-pietistic revival atmosphere of Halle. As shown in chapter VI, Oncken's Baptist Constitution was his guideline to keep him from error or heresy. Only by preaching the powerful Gospel unto Salvation (Rom 3:16) were his converts nourished and taught the inner devotional life which in turn *had to produce visible fruits for family, community and*

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<sup>398</sup> Konferenz 24 June 1881:176-177.

<sup>399</sup> Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1988, p. 196-197, my emphasis.

*society as a whole. Without such devotion translated into holy living* their faith would indeed become "privatized religion" in the sense of which Dr Kretzschmar speaks about it in her thesis.<sup>400</sup> Gutsche and the Constitution of his Baptist Churches would have none of such sterile theoretical faith.

150 years after Tholuck and Gutsche and three centuries after Spener, 'Liberal Theology' and 'Modernism' are still alive and well in our midst. Several South African liberation theologians want an

"alternative resistance—church with a liberating ecclesiology to replace the existing historical dominant bureaucratic Church ... The alternative church is a church not merely for the poor or with the poor but of the poor, to be born, to be reborn, as a church, from below, from among them."<sup>401</sup>

"This raises the pertinent question whether the rich and powerful, who have never known the material deprivation and alienation of the historical poor, can ever become part of this church. More pertinent: Are they in a position to comprehend the mystery of God? ... for the stories of God's revelation in the Bible are in many instances so far removed from the dominant religious ideas of our time that they only make sense provided we can block out all our pre-conceived ideas of who or what God is before we read them."<sup>402</sup>

Gutsche knew of no "alternative church, being reborn from below" within a framework of sociology and human ideologies (eg keeping the rich out of the body of Christ). He practised the biblical model where a church is "formed" by those who accept Jesus Christ as Saviour through the preaching of the Word (Rom 10:14) and then become full members after believers' baptism. This is the work of the Holy Spirit from *Above* and not a human fabrication from *Below*. Acts 2 and John 3 clearly show the origin of true conversion and the *modus operandi* of the birth of the church. Gutsche started many churches but only with those converts

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<sup>400</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences. PhD, University of Cape Town, Abstract

<sup>401</sup> Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1988, p. 193, my emphasis.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197; and Walker 1990, my emphasis.

who were truly repentant of their sins and born again. Even today his Confession of Faith and Constitution are being applied and observed by the Baptists in Southern Africa as the only possible growth factor and *modus operandi*. It's the Spirit of God who calls and adds. If others want to start their own club (like a church for the poor only), let them go ahead, but it wouldn't be Christ's Church.

Gutsche's sermons on the nature of sin as an offence against God, and forgiveness by God through Christ' Sacrifice on the Cross are based on his own spiritual experience, on Scripture and Article 3 of the Baptist Confession. They reflect his orthodox conservative evangelical theology and are irreconcilable with modern liberation emphases, as Jan Vink points out in his 'Themes of Liberation Theology'. To them

"Sin is much more than an individual, private, or merely inner reality. Rather, it is seen as a *social* phenomenon and as the fundamental alienation of *man in society*."<sup>403</sup>

which means that it is no longer or foremost sin against *God* but sin against *supra Human* individuals. -

Early in June 1998, during his guest lectures at the Theological Faculty of Stellenbosch University, Professor Vincent Brümmer from Utrecht Holland quite rightly pointed out in his lectures on "Pluralism and Change in Religious Traditions" that any contextual theology is inadequate, selective, one sided and needs correction, additions and compliments. Even the Nicene Creed could be re-worded, as models change constantly and all theology is dated and fallible. However, Vincent Brümmer concludes that "All Theology Firmly Based on Scripture and Christ is Universal." The fixed point of faith is the life and death of Jesus Christ as proclaimed in the Bible. This origin and identity is essential for the Christian Church."<sup>404</sup>

We find that throughout history, in the context of certain times, some particular biblical truths were popular. In AD 325 the doctrine of the Trinity and the Person of Christ were critical. Twelve centuries later

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<sup>403</sup> Jan Vink, *The Impact of Liberation Theology on the Baptist Union of Southern Africa*, PhD, University of Witwatersrand, 1993 1993, p. 192.

<sup>404</sup> Duplicated lecture notes 1/2 June 1998.

Martin Luther's problem and cry was "How can we miserable sinners obtain mercy from God?." His answer from Romans 1:17 "The Just shall live by Faith" swept across Europe and the whole world. One hundred years later and after the Thirty Years' War, the churches had lost their first love, became stale, stiff and orthodox and gave rise to the Pietists, the Puritans and the Revival movements under Wesley, Whitefield, Spurgeon and others. During Gutschke's time the era with the emphasis on holy living and witnessing had begun which resulted in the birth of the modern missionary societies across the globe. Around 1900 the Pentecostal and Tongue people brought the long neglected doctrine of the Holy Spirit into prominence, after 1700 years. With the advent of modern archaeology and excavations of ancient sites came a new interest in the Old Testament prophecies and the Book of Revelation. Today the Second Coming of Christ is a major subject in many churches. However, because Luther in 1520 could not make much sense of eschatology, this does not lessen his merits as a reformer and as a special person in the Kingdom of God.

Consequently, it is not surprising, then, that at the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and the end of Colonialism, with the rise of Black Nationalism, questions of justice, social concern and liberation should be on the agenda of many Christian Churches. The time is right for it. But it was not, in the same way as today, an opportune or relevant issue for the Settlers in 1870. If we would ask "Why didn't they see things as we see them today?" the answer is simply this "Because in the context of their time and circumstances they had other problems."

*Therefore, we have no quarrel with Dr Kretzschmar when she in her thesis challenges present day Baptists to get more involved in bread and butter issues and show more practical social concern in this needy post-apartheid era. Her anxiety is shared by many of us. But her censure of Gutschke's Settlers 150 years ago should be done cautiously, considering the historical setting and climate of that particular time.*

We can also learn from the history books of the last two thousand years that, whenever Christian churches became involved in wars, politics and internal or external strife, their spiritual witness and impact to the world suffered or was lost altogether. Today, the rampant decline of moral, ethical and biblical standards causes serious concern and worry to the

evangelical churches all over the world. We see the main reason for this poor image and witness in the fact that many have substituted modern Theologies and New Age Religions for the moral and ethical standards of the Bible. Tholuck, Oncken and Gutsche, as well as Karl Barth with his contemporaries during the Hitler Regime, had no time for such new beliefs.

In a recent publication by the Billy Graham Centre we read about "Lessons from the African Story"

"the African church is a vast and troubled field where the seeds of nominalism, syncretism, racism and warfare can produce a Rwanda, a nation declared to be 80 percent Christian, where Christian raised machete against Christian until nearly a million were dead. It is a field full of sometimes bizarre churches that mingle magic with the Messiah. It is a field *where mainline churches are often more interested in politics than prayer* (my emphasis). It is a field where charismatic churches cast out demons while their nation goes to the devil."<sup>405</sup>

I argued in the forgoing chapters, that Gutsche's understanding of Scripture was such that Christian pastors were well advised to concentrate on the inner life and devotional qualities of their members first and foremost before embarking on great schemes of getting this fallen world right or politics sorted out. This ultimately Christ would do at His Second Coming as Prince of Peace. Gutsche's very first sermon at Keiskama Hoek in December 1867 was eschatological, about the seventh angel and his trumpet, after which loud voices in heaven were saying

"The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he will reign for ever and ever" (Rev 11:15).

He often quoted Scripture prophecies on the Last Days when war and bloodshed will increase at an alarming rate, evil get the upper hand and sin will abound (Mt 24) - until Christ' Return. In the meantime his members should pray for the hastening of the Lord's parousia and also "pray for all rulers, that they may govern well." (1 Tm 2:2). Article 14 of the Baptist Confession puts it this way

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<sup>405</sup> Mark Shaw, *The Kingdom of God in Africa. A Short History of African Christianity*, Billy Graham Centre, published by Baker Books Grand Rapids MI, 1996, p. 291/92.

"We believe that the signs of the time show us that the end of this era has arrived. We always have the words of our Lord before us "Behold I come quickly!" and wait for Him as we pray "Amen. Yes, come, Lord Jesus!"<sup>406</sup>

Then follow 68 Scripture references, 18 of which are taken from the books of Daniel and Revelation. Gutsche's colleagues F.W. and Julius Herrmann published two booklets with Oncken in Kassel on "Beyond the Grave" and "The Last Things." Liberation Theology was an unknown vocabulum around 1860. We can well do without those opinions with political overtones nor do we have to "amend" our theology with every new Government or fashionable political fad. Gutsche and Oncken demonstrated this clearly, for our benefit. Jan Vink expresses it rather well in this way

"The revealed, absolute will of God (in Scripture) addresses itself with clarity to life and living and does not submit to historical relativism."<sup>407</sup>

This 'historical relativism' is clearly spelled out in chapter 8 of Dr Kretzschmar's thesis, when she recommends a new choice for Baptists on the threshold of the new millenium:

1. Baptists have to develop a less fundamentalistic approach to the Bible;
2. Interpretations of biblical texts have to include modern interpreters and their ideological commitments;
3. Together with a less fundamental hermeneutic, Baptists need to develop a broader understanding of Christian spirituality and rejection of spiritualization.
4. For a relevant and prophetic witness of the Baptists in the future, their entire understanding of theology, the Bible, theological education, discipleship, ministry, spirituality, and mission, need to be transformed.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> Glaubensbekenntnis Kassel, nd., 15<sup>th</sup> ed

<sup>407</sup> Jan Vink, *The Impact of Liberation Theology on the Baptist Union of Southern Africa*, PhD, University of Witwatersrand, 1993, pp. 107, 60-66.

<sup>408</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, 287/8.

By this "transformation and new interpretation" she clearly means that Baptists in future must embrace the new contextual theology which includes African, Black, Liberation and Feminist Theology.<sup>409</sup> As is common and natural with all 'religious' issues, some have accepted this new social and political focus, while the great majority of Baptists in South Africa place their service-emphasis on a Christo-centric and Scriptural ministry, at the same time not neglecting the crying need of the present hour. Dr Jan Vink gives his full attention to this subject in his dissertation on "The Impact of Liberation Theology on the Baptist Union of Southern Africa."<sup>410</sup> Gutsche and his churches consistently stuck to the "Faith once delivered to the Saints" (Jude 3).

### **Christ's Spirit of Love and Forgiveness**

This meant that political activism and revolutionary campaigns were against New Testament teachings. This Gutsche firmly believed and propagated. Biblical prophecies told him that ultimately "Peace on earth and goodwill to men would come from God and not through men's effort." His churches would pray with him "Thy Kingdom come" and "Glory to GOD in the highest" and not voluntarily join revolutionary or unruly bands to force political change. Apart from Bible exhortations and the Anabaptist precedent, there was the example of Oncken who during the insurrection of 1848/49 "did not join the revolts although we were also longing for liberation and justice."

The Anabaptists with their insistence on Freedom of Conscience were one of the fore-runners of democracy, by practising the 'Priesthood of all Believers' where every single member, high or low, had the same say, vote or station in the congregation. They had no powerful bishops or clerical aristocracy. The large majority were trail blazers for peaceful change by negotiations and, if need be, by passive non-violent resistance. They were willing and able to endure persecution, jail and death. Oncken and his followers after 1832 suffered those same persecutions and loss of life and goods, uncompromisingly. When Dr Kretzschmar complains that

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<sup>409</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>410</sup> Jan Vink, *The Impact of Liberation Theology on the Baptist Union of Southern Africa*, PhD, University of Witwatersrand University 1993.

"The German Baptists did not resemble their Anabaptist forbears ... The more radical social implications of Anabaptism were never central to the theology of the German Baptists."<sup>411</sup>

we must remember that the whole movement was split into many wings, factions and different ideological camps. The politically active ones had a high profile, were much reported on but their rise and fall was quick and significant. The surviving peaceful sections left behind a precious heritage of pacifism to the emerging Free Churches of the Continent, England and America.

We need to remind ourselves that those three hundred German Baptist peasants around Frankfurt in the Eastern Cape had never heard of the Anabaptists, were without proper schooling and could barely read or write. In 1867 Carl Hugo Gutsche was the only 'learned' one among them, with knowledge of history, science and the humanities. We know for sure that he had a copy of Braght's *Märtyrerspiegel* (1870) in his study and knew from his Lutheran background all about the Peasant Wars and controversies connected with their struggle. Today we know what the different sections stood for—the 300 German Baptist Settlers did not.

It is also clear that Ms Kretzschmar, selectively, from the vast amount of recent research literature on the Anabaptists, quoted and used only such aspects and angles which are popular with modern liberation theologians. With this deliberate choice she wanted to "differ from the traditional Baptist histories" and succeeded.<sup>412</sup> Her thesis "departs from the traditional perceptions and methodological approaches of South African Baptist writings"<sup>413</sup> and will hopefully

"contribute to the emerging 'alternative' Baptist tradition ... Our common desire is to develop a form of Baptist theological praxis and spirituality that can make a contribution to the search for personal

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<sup>411</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, *The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists*, with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences, PhD, University of Cape Town, 1992, 165.

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid*, vi.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid*, 3.



and social well being (sic) in addition to political, ecclesiastical and economic liberation in South Africa."<sup>414</sup>

In other words, she writes about the historical past from an after-Apartheid left wing liberation perspective which is, of course, a possible and permissible approach. But it does not do justice to the missionary, economical, cultural and colonial achievements of the past, when the past is censured by today's criteria and conventions.

Mark Shaw suggests that historiographically

"we need to find an alternative approach that has a higher point than church growth, ecumenism, nationalism or cultural authenticity. We need an approach that can tell the whole story in a way that does justice to missionary contributions, nationalistic responses, and ecumenical fairness, but then moves on beyond the limitations of vision that cling to these approaches."<sup>415</sup>

He proposes the superior models of the 'Kingdom of God' and the Reformed 'Sovereignty of God' to overcome marxistic, capitalistic and liberal interpretations.<sup>416</sup>

Returning to the Reformation Baptists, the fact of the matter is:

"The resistance of the Anabaptists against all interference by the State in matters of religion and faith had its root in their insistence that the early church of the New Testament was independent and solely directed by the Holy Spirit with Christ as the head.

"Their dislike, resistance and opposition to revolutions and violent armed change has its explanation in the fact that they were against all manner of force, brutal or persuasive. We must add to this their pessimism of not believing that the states of this world could be improved on; it was futile to try and make this fallen world perfect ...

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<sup>414</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>415</sup> Mark Shaw, *The Kingdom of God in Africa. A Short History of African Christianity*, Billy Graham Centre, published by Baker Books Grand Rapids MI, 1996, p. 14.

<sup>416</sup> ibid 15-20.

It is a great mistake to think of the Baptists as revolutionaries. Far from it.<sup>417</sup>

Dr Sydney Hudson-Reed makes the same interesting point:

It was the land of Luther and the Reformation which produced the Nazi regime. More recently, the solid Roman Catholics of Latin America have produced some of the most repressive dictatorships in the history of man and it is precisely there, where Church and State worked hand in hand, that liberation theology came into its own, advocating rebellion against repressive regimes and their reporters."<sup>418</sup>

"The attempt to attain justice by means of violence as in the aberration of Münster, proved to be like fighting fire with oil. Even before Münster the mainstream of Anabaptism had opted for non-violence and after Münster the Dutch wing under Menno Simons certainly embraced non-violence as a principle. In doing this they set up an alternative society. On the whole, however, Dutch Anabaptism, particular post-Münster, was and remained faithful to the principle of non-violence even if this meant torture and death for hundreds of Anabaptists.

"The message of present-day Anabaptism with its call to renew the vision of those true, swordless freedom fighters of the sixteenth century can be applied to all 20<sup>th</sup> century Christians."<sup>419</sup>

On a practical level, political activism, buying and taking up of arms takes money which Gutsche and the Settlers did not have—unlike the modern terrorists and freedom fighters who have international backing and funding with millions of Dollars in grants from the World Bank, United States, Denmark, Germany and many other countries. Gutsche had no money to spare for political liberation excursions. His churches were self-supporting; the State did not pay his ministers and institutions. Sacrificial free will offerings by his poor members financed the church household and supported the mission outreach. The ministers' stipends were not always paid in full or paid late. An increase of £2 in the quarterly travel

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<sup>417</sup> Little 1966, p. 155-156, my translation & emphasis.

<sup>418</sup> Sydney Hudson-Reed, *Sixteenth Century Dutch Anabaptism*, PhD, University of Natal, 1989, p. 247-248.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid, pp. 252 & 256.

allowance for cart and horses was hotly debated at Keiskama Hoek and narrowly passed after long delays.

The Baptists under Oncken and Gutsche were most reluctant, even unwilling, to become side-tracked by political campaigning which leads inevitably to confrontation, hot emotions, bitter hatred and was foreign to the Gospel of love, as they understood it. Rather, they wanted to follow the example of Jesus and his advice in the Sermon on the Mount and James 1:19-21

"An angry man does not do what is right before God; rather be quick to listen, slow to use your tongue and slow to lose your temper."

Gutsche and Oncken knew from experience that angry demonstrators shouting in the streets can not be, at the same time, holy people who listen to God speaking with a still soft voice during Bible studies or prayer times, when one finds out the will of God. They preached and believed that the soft power of passive resistance and prayer for the authorities were the correct weapons of the believer. God is writing history with his little finger and will change and intervene, sometimes at the most unexpected moment and in miraculous ways, to perform what armies and dictators with their guns and bombs couldn't achieve in decades. They held that peaceful transition was the best way of change. In Europe, where they had had a war practically every thirty years, the Baptists happily left it to Parliaments and Governments to make the political decisions.

Jan Vink rightly observes about modern liberation theology:

"Their emphasis of the Gospel has predominantly political overtones, their 'redemption and atonement' is perceived as deliverance from political and social oppression, with no material to inspire Christian living ... Their theology is dominated by horizontal thinking and ignores the vertical aspects of our spirituality. To contemporary man salvation should mean freedom from social injustice and political oppression now ... On the other hand, we evangelicals have our theology dictated from above."<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> Jan Vink, *The Impact of Liberation Theology on the Baptist Union of Southern Africa*, PhD, University of Witwatersrand, 1993, pp. 60f, 66.

The many sermons in Gutsche's files show us clearly what kind of spiritual food he gave to his people: Words of encouragement and comfort. He taught them to pray "Give us this day our daily bread" for they were poor and hungry. He preached to them about the great God and Creator who knew them by name, gave power to the faint and would never forsake them. He enthusiastically challenged them in almost every message "to give thanks unto the Lord and not to forget all His benefits." He asked his members to be "The salt of the earth and light in this world" by clean living and example, thereby contributing to the building up of a just and fair society.

Because: Whilst Jesus said "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's" (Mt 22:21), he did not say "Kill that Gentile Emperor and drive his illegal occupation forces out of Judaea." Neither did Paul preach "Assassinate Nero, that war criminal!" but rather "Pray for Kings and all those in authority" (1 Tim 2:2). God's children know that the Lord will direct history and politics in such a way that all despots will reap in due time what they have sown.

## **Missionary Work among the Blacks**

This was not an option for him but the Imperative and Great Commission of Jesus to be obeyed.

Calling everyone to Faith in Christ by preaching and evangelism was the aggressive policy of Oncken and his churches. He coined the motto "Every Baptist a Missionary." As we saw in chapter 2, Carsten Langhein, one of his converts, used this method on the boat from Hamburg to East London and in Wiesbaden-Frankfurt where he settled. Those he won were gathered into the First Frankfurt Baptist Church. Gutsche continued his work in starting more churches and mission stations. He also set out to teach his new believers **of all colours** to write and read, acquire a basic education and sober industrious habits, according to Christian work ethics. In chapter 3 (Missions) it is documented how Gutsche and his churches served the indigenous African population in a most unselfish manner.

Gutsche did indeed 'support the Xhosas,' by emulating the Moravian principles, although Dr Kretzschmar denies this.<sup>421</sup> Those Zinzendorf

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<sup>421</sup> 1992, p. 198.

Germans from Herrnhut trained the newly won Christians who automatically and without option had to learn secular skills which enabled them to make their own living and work themselves up into a higher class in society. They started schools, printing works, mills, cobbler shops, agriculture, horticulture, bakeries and all the crafts imaginable. A Moravian Christian was well able to look after him/herself. They also catered for the higher education of their members in Teachers' Training Colleges and Theological Institutions.<sup>422</sup>

It is strangely odd to find Charles Villa Vicencio holding a different viewpoint in declaring that the "gospel of work" provided the missionaries and imperialists with a ready tool to attain the selfish means of colonial expansionism. He quotes Seloape Thema:

"'African traditional society' was for missionaries and colonists a life indolence. They both agreed that they taught the dignity of labour."

Villa Vicencio then cites Dr James Stewart to give weight to his argument and contention:

"Dr James Stewart of Lovedale Mission declares that lazy races die or decay. Races that work prosper on earth. The British race, in all its greatest branches, is noted for its restless activity. Its life motto is Work! Work!"<sup>423</sup>

"We want to see the natives to become workers ... We believe that Christianity will be a chief cause of their becoming a working people ... Christianity creates needs ... There will be a constant relation between the time a man works and his necessities ... "Now, the speediest way of creating needs among these people is to Christianise them, then they will want more clothing, better houses, furniture, books, education for their children, and a hundred other things which they do not have now and never have had. And all these things they can only get by working, and only by working ...

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<sup>422</sup> Fritz Hugo Haus, A Brief Historical Synopsis of Church Involvement in the Informal Sector - with particular reference to the Moravian Mission Stations in the Western Cape: A detailed report requested by, and compiled for, the Cape Town City Council, 1980: Synopsis.

<sup>423</sup> Stewart's 'Christian Express,' in an editorial of 1 Aug 1878 puts it this way.

Christianity also teaches the duty of working, and denounces idleness as a sin."<sup>424</sup>

These observations are important because Gutsche and his Baptist missionaries worked within this context and co-operated with the Lovedale and Moravian stations. He was right in always urging every one to improve his station through diligent work. It gave him deep satisfaction to see his settlers achieving a certain degree of prosperity. Wealth was the fruit of labour and a sign of God's blessing. The Baptist Confession of Faith, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition 1866, which Gutsche brought from Oncken to Kaffraria in 1867 and used to structure his churches, states in article 12 (p 47):

It is our duty to work for six days of the week diligently and with a good conscience, in all secular occupations or careers, with all the powers of our mind and body, for the welfare of society towards maximum profit.

'when we were with you we gave you this rule: If a man will not work, he shall not eat. We hear that some of you are idle. They are not busy; they are busybodies. Such people we command and urge in the Lord Jesus Christ, to settle down and earn the bread they eat' (2 Thess 10-12)."

This work ethic was applied throughout the Baptist churches of all race groups.

We find that by teaching the Blacks "the dignity of labour" our missionaries were genuinely concerned to give them skills and tools towards individual independence and a better quality of life. The charge of "white self-interest" does certainly not apply to our Baptist missionaries whose motivation was purely biblical and compassionate. To refer to the other Societies is not necessary; it would be outside the theme of this study.

In our post-industrial age, where millions of people worldwide are unemployed, and where we are speedily becoming a holiday, recreation and sports society, perhaps we need to re-discover the blessing of honest labour and realise that without working hard there can be no wealth nor comfort.

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<sup>424</sup> as quoted by Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1988, pp. 43-44.

When Gutsche arrived, Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Grahamstown and King Colleges were budding, all because Christ said in Matthew 28 "Go and teach all nations, to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." He wasted no time but engaged Miss Harding in 1868 to instruct black and white children. His parishioners were obliged to learn reading the Bible by themselves (if need be in brash-courses), for he got the churches to agree in 1870 that in future

"it is expected of every member to be able to read the Bible. This condition is only waved when someone has weak nerves or is mentally retarded or disturbed."

Twenty eight years later, in 1895, Gutsche can declare:

"The time has now arrived for our members to give our children higher education; many fathers can now afford to let their siblings study for teacher and other professions. We no longer want to 'import' experts from Germany or America. In addition to our monies for Hamburg, it's about time to send some of our young men, who feel called to the ministry, to Oncken's College."<sup>425</sup>

This clearly documents Gutsche's successful policy of education and cultural empowerment. John Wycliffe, Martin Luther, Robert Moffat, Dr Kropf and countless others lifted people up by imparting knowledge. Even today many tribal languages and dialects are being codified by missionaries and Bible Societies; a Zulu orthography appeared recently.

## **Church Discipline and Holy Living**

These were essential ingredients for the success, witness and standard of Gutsche's Churches.

Oncken's Continental Baptists were persuaded and obliged to translate the commands of Scripture into practical action by holy living, thereby honouring God and upholding the good name and reputation of the church; all Church Constitutions deal with the privileges and obligations of their members.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> Conference March 1895 p 11.

<sup>426</sup> Handbüchlein 1899, p. 14-18.

We have covered this essential aspect of Holy Living in chapter 6. Without this "separation from the world" concerning moral issues, Gutsche's churches would soon have deteriorated into 'social clubs' and lost their evangelical and regeneration challenge. All Baptists during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century were expected to live out the Ten Commandments and be examples of honesty, integrity and helpfulness. Because, *what was morally and biblically wrong could not possibly be right in business or politics!*

Throughout his long and effective life he never changed this Pietistic and personal evangelical emphasis. In fact, he was bound by the Constitution and Articles of Faith. Any deviation therefrom would automatically disqualify him from the Baptist ministry; he would then become just plain secular.

When Dr Kretzschmar in her dissertation "The Privatization of the Christian Faith amongst South African Baptists" has problems with today's Baptist churches, at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, she has given us food for thought and some good points for debate and contemplation. But Gutsche and his brave flock are of another kind and deserve a different evaluation, all of which we have documented to a great extent in the previous pages.

## **Closing Remarks**

No man is perfect. Gutsche had his faults and shortcomings and was aware of them. His strong sense of duty and a healthy confidence in his commission helped him to overcome difficulties and opposition. It wasn't the kind of proud exaggerated self-confidence, but an inner assurance that the God who had called him to Africa would also give him the strength and wisdom to successfully finish the work.

He had governed the churches with a strong hand for almost thirty years and found it very hard to let go and play 'second fiddle'. His mind and touch had been continuously on every detail. This strong and absolute will was needed and the splendid results justified pastor Gutsche's rule. But when his young co-pastors Riemer, Schmidt and Preuss arrived it was inevitable that tensions arose, for they had the idea that "the old man must make room for the younger ones." It was only seven years later, in 1905, that harmony and unity were restored once more.



Right from the start, Gutsche often faced problems because of the Congregational system of Church Government. When spot decisions had to be made, he was careful to have them verified or amended at the very next opportunity. As a matter of principle he never acted as one having absolute authority although he was their ordained elder and leader. When his co-pastor Riemer arrived in 1874, they wanted to act together but soon had two units. The minutes are full of uneasy relations between the two churches. Berlin members complained in King about the pastor or other members (15 Oct 1880), pastor Riemer did not want to join the Baptist Union in 1877, nor pronounce the Benediction after Holy Communion or practise the "Laying on of Hands" after the Baptismal service, both of which Gutsche did. This caused some discussion in meetings and heartsearching on the part of Riemer who confessed that "He had struggled tremendously over these two points and is not convinced yet, but for peace' sake he will in future adopt the same custom" (24-26 June 1881). There is an easy explanation: Gutsche came from the more formal German tradition of the dignified Lutheran and Calvinistic rites whilst Riemer hailed from the American Free Church Movements.

It has been shown in Chapter 3 that from the start Gutsche had to be a judge and peacemaker among the initial 300 members. This sometimes created resentment from those who were in the wrong. To live together as a body was a new experience to them. They had no theological training nor much secular education and sometimes, as Germans, a reputation of being pig-headed and obstinate. Gutsche suffered much from their unreasonable attitudes but, as a servant of God, tried to take the numerous insults with grace and humility. As time went by and the numbers greatly multiplied, the conflicts also increased. From his Frankfurt members he had to swallow the cutting remarks:

"Don't be trapped into calling another minister from Germany. Brother Gutsche can stay where he is ... The German blood is so warm and hot and wants to rule ... The German bellows like an ox and bawls like a donkey."

As first generation Baptists it was only natural for them to have little awareness or experience of former Free Church traditions. Gutsche had both and in addition possessed a clear vision for the future according to New Testament principles.

Keiskama Hoek and Johannesburg Mayfair added to try his patience. Of course, he functioned as a kind of bishop for all the churches and seemed harsh and unyielding at times; but we believe it was for the good of his flock, as they were often shortsighted and did not have the statesman-like vision of their leader. An added irritation was a certain amount of jealousy because his people were struggling and poor but Mary and Hugo Gutsche with their highly gifted children belonged to the professional and 'privileged class' in society. With the English churches, however, he had fabulous fellowship and meaningful co-operation. They elected him twice as Baptist Union President and conferred the honour of Life President on him in 1917.

### ***Are there any lessons to be learned from the life of Carl Hugo Gutsche?***

1. We notice that a true missionary and pastor must experience a strong ***Divine Call*** to this ministry and be prepared to ***sacrifice*** promising professional ambitions and financial gain for the sake of the Gospel. Without this ***inner compulsion*** it would be better to pursue a 'secular' career.
2. ***Endurance*** and a faithful ***Perseverance*** to the very end are vital; "straw fire" Christians are useless. Gutsche started from scratch and stayed in King Williams Town for sixty years; we like to call this true "stickability."
3. ***The whole world*** needs the Gospel of the love of God through the life and death of Jesus Christ. A 1 1 churches should ***co-operate***. Not all ways lead to the top, for the Bible says ***"There is no other name"*** (Ac 4:12).
4. In starting the Baptist Churches of Kaffraria and the Eastern Cape, together with his English brethren, Gutsche emphasised some aspects of the evangelical faith which most other denominations did not have:
  - a. Holy Scripture is the ***ONLY*** sufficient, certain, and infallible rule of all saving Knowledge, Faith, and Obedience (Lumpkin 1969:248; Haykin 1996:71).
  - b. Every Baptist convert must, by a ***conscious*** and ***individual decision***, accept Jesus Christ as her/his ***personal*** Saviour.
  - c. After a public confession of faith the physical sign of ***Believers' Baptism*** by ***immersion*** will be administered.
  - d. The German and British Baptists practised the scriptural ***'Priesthood of all Believers'***.

Those were the main *Distinctive Features* setting the Baptists apart from others.

The ideal person has not yet been born—and never will be. Therefore, in view of this truth, hero worship will always have to be done with caution and honest but humble admiration. Every one of us could perhaps draw praise and condemnation, opposition and recommendation, negative critique or approval.

Carl Hugo Gutsche seems elusive and distant to us now, his world was so different with strict divides between rich and poor, black and white, civilisation and untouched primitive tribes—all has now changed in our highly democratised, globalised, modernised, industrialised and electro-nic space age society.

His world is gone forever—but his thinking, ideas, ideals, aims and objects do not simply fade or evaporate because our problems and politics are different. With this in mind, it would be an interesting exercise to work out what Gutsche would have done today as a Baptist pastor to the affluent descendants of the German Settlers, and as a missionary to the liberated Blacks. With his vision, calling and principles, in the context of our present time, surely he would make the Border region and South Africa a better place to live in by equipping his flock for an orderly, worthwhile and dignified life.

Would he not continue his social and educational emphasis and call for holy living in an unholy world? His scriptural tenets and imperatives have stood the test of time and thereby bring the distant Gutsche close to our hearts.

First generation movements have vitality, idealism and impact. Their charismatic leaders and founders are specially gifted with an exceptional vision. This is amply illustrated by the life and work of Carl Hugo Gutsche. However, a church or denomination is only fulfilling its task if succeeding generations remain true to the ancient Biblical principles. Being side-tracked by any other "isms" such as communism, modernism, socialism, nationalism, rationalism, higher criticism, racism or 'New Age' mixtures of a 'glorified fruitsalad' of multifaith components, such doctrines are robbing the church of her mission, impact and reason for existence. As we have looked at Gutsche and his churches, *in the context of his time, we are*

*satisfied that he did not deviate from the clear demands of the Bible but remained true to his calling.*

Dr Kretzschmar has given us a well-researched and documented historical account of the Anabaptists and English Baptists from 1530 to 1900, from the perspective of the 1990 Liberation, Black and Feminist Contextual Theology. It is an interesting addition to the existing writings from the Lutheran, Baptist, German, British and American researchers' points of view and very revealing to find how differently persons, events and movements can be judged and interpreted, depending on which side one stands. All the same, it is most refreshing.

In this connection, the question is frequently asked: "Why didn't they see as we see today? They had the same Word of God." The answer is simple: "Because their context differed from ours"! To quote two recent examples: Why didn't Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, those valiant men who defied Hitler, in the same manner publicly take up, for instance, the fate of the Jews and fight Nazi anti-Semitism? Certainly, they were aware of his views from the book "Mein Kampf." However, it was not the burning and relevant problem in their specific confrontation, namely that Barth as theology professor declined to take the prescribed Hitler-oath of office as public servant of the State University Bonn, thereby refusing loyalty to the Third Reich. He lost his chair and took the next train to Basel in his native Switzerland, because his Theology on the Sovereignty of God and Supreme Authority of the Bible was diametrically opposed to Hitler's "Weltanschauung" on the Arian Super Race.<sup>427</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer in his devotional radio talk on 1 Febr 1933 denounced the Führer two days after he had come into power for allowing the people to worship him as their idol, thereby replacing God. His broadcast was interrupted. Hitler put him under house arrest and finally had him executed in 1945. For Bonhoeffer, his immediate problem was Hitler's blatant violation of the First Commandment.<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Karl Barth, *Zur Genesung des deutschen Wesens*, Stuttgart: Franz Mittelbach, 1945, p. 3-7.

<sup>428</sup> Edwin Robertson, *The Shame and the Sacrifice*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1987, p. 87/88.

Today we would be hard put to find Christian missionaries and pastors of the stature, zeal and dedication of Dr Livingstone, Murray, Gutsche and many others. Of course, there are still, though perhaps few, among us, who are a 'light to the world' and 'salt of the earth' (take Billy Graham for instance, the modern pietistic Baptist Preacher and Evangelist). We salute them and wish to follow their example!

Gutsche's German Baptist Churches had a life-span of about one hundred years—a very brief episode in the context of Eternity and several milleniums of God's revealed time table in the Old and New Testaments. This does not diminish his significance and achievements in God's Kingdom. Countless people called "Vater Gutsche" blessed and were converted to Christ. It is also to his credit that today the descendents of the 1858 German Settlers are fully integrated into Christ's body world-wide. The valiant efforts of Oncken and Gutsche to plant the Gospel also in the soil of Southern Africa have born fruit.

Today, at the end of the 20thCentury, the Baptist Union of Southern Africa ministers to hundreds of thousands of members and adherents. Most of them are Blacks from the indigenous tribes. Gutsche and his English colleagues laid a sound Scriptural foundation which stood the test of time. Their mission work has grown beyond expectation. At the end of 1999 they have 370 full time missionaries working in five continents. In addition, several thousand Baptists visit almost all African countries with the main focus on outreach, healing, preaching and mercy missions in short term engagements of several weeks or months at a time. Lesotho, Swaziland, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Malawi and the Portuguese from and in Angola are the main targets; they receive the bulk of help and assistance because of the senseless wars and subsequent refugee and social problems. Our mission hospitals and schools are overcrowded, understaffed and near breaking point. Army, hospital- and prison chaplains are doing their compassionate work. Compound ministries among the black workers of all Gold mines in the Free State and elsewhere are additional activities performed by the Baptist Union.<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>429</sup> BU Prayer Guide 1999; BU Handbook 1998-1999; Baptists Today Magazines 1998-1999.

To our knowledge, nowhere in this troubled world of political suicide, unrest, terrorism and genocide are our missionaries involved in plots and underground activities to overthrow corrupt rulers or wicked despots. To take up arms would go against the Anabaptist tradition and the examples of Oncken, Gutsche and Spurgeon. Our numerous Baptist missionaries do not partake in political destabilisation which make a country ungovernable. On the contrary, our workers suffer severely when being caught in the cross fire of government fighters and revolutionary guerrillas. This has often been the case during the last forty years all over the globe.

Today Baptists everywhere, when doing missionary work, as in Gutsche's time, never preach salvation 'and end there,' but have all evangelism coupled with food and clothing ministries, literacy instruction and medical help. They also provide aviation transportation and give social upliftment by providing water, building skills and artisan training—massive social involvement indeed!

**The deeds of the pioneers have followed them (Rev 14:13).**

**SOLI DEO GLORIA**

## SUPPLEMENTARY SECTION

### #1: August Peinke' s Testimony

*In this story I have retained the original spelling and punctuation—which shows that 50 years after their arrival Gutsche and his schools and churches had done a good job in education and social upliftment*

"*august peinke* I was born April 21st 1842 in Repplin (Pomerania). My parents were Michael Friedrich PEINKE, born Oct 22<sup>nd</sup> 1813 in Repplin and Dorothea Maria nee" Witt, born in Succow (Po.) Besides me my parents had the following children: Michael Friedrich 1.Jan.1844 / Maria Dorothea Sophia 15.Apr.1846 / August Ferdinand 31.July 1851 / Wilhelm Friedrich 26.Oct.1852. My parents had 6 children. one died in infancy as seen." (sic. until end of Peinke's account).

*Auguste Peinke neé Köpke* writes:

"I was born on 30. Aug. 1850 in Schöneberg Pom. and came to South Africa at the age of 7<sup>1/2</sup> years with my parents; we landed in East London and settled in Keiskama Hoek. My mother (neg. Krause) died 1879. I had six months school in Africa and one year in Germany. My mother had 12 children, 6 of whom died in Germany. I married August Peinke on 7th Febr.1867 when I was 16<sup>1/2</sup> years old and gave birth to 14 children; all grew up. I am now 65 years old and feel very often signs of approaching age."

*August Peinke* further relates in English :

"My parents were servants or labourers to landed gentry in the country. The pitiful conditions made my father change his job several times. From Repplin we went to Liptow, from Liptow to Lölitz, everywhere the same, neediness and poverty. There and then the news reached him that the British Government thought of settling German families in South Africa. Like a flame of hope it hit my father. It seemed to be one way out of our misery. His spirit had not been broken & he decided to embark on the adventure to the Cape.

"His wife shared his views with all her heart and the preparations for a long journey began. To take this big step required not only courage, but money as well. My mother came from a better-to-do family and could help father with her inheritance. In the year 1858 five emigrant ships left Hamburg for Cape Town, we sailed in the last one called Johann Caesar. After a three months trouble-some journey we arrived healthy and well in Cape Town on 1st February 1859. We were taken from Cape Town to East London and

received rations for 6 months, husband and wife daily 1 lb. meat and 1 lb. bread, each child half the amount. As my parents were only granted land after more than a year, father and children had to earn a living. I must mention that Father had only 3 pence at our arrival in Cape Town. We children *begged* Father to buy a crayfish (Krebs) for us. When eating it we did not like it at all, but it had cost us our very last money, it had to find a place in our stomach - willy filly!

"Having arrived in East London Father found a good friend, who lent us £3 for the purchase of the most necessary equipment. At last Father was given land in Keiskama Hoek after long and painful waiting. According to contract he was obliged to pay 1/5 of the purchase price and £1 per acre after 4 years and henceforth another fifth from year to year so as to pay off the whole amount at the end of the eighth year. But something happened. There was such a drought and consequently no harvest and the first re-payment could not even be put down in the eighth year! These were indeed bitter days. Much work, day and night - no result. In despair my Father and the family left the land to go to Kubusie as overseer to 80 hectare of land belonging to a Cathjarten [Cathcart] farmer. My parents were paid out £6 in cash yearly. The farmer only visited his land in winter to let his cattle graze. The fruits of the land we could harvest. After 2 years - back to Keiskama Hoek. Again toil but in higher spirits or with renewed courage and with better results this time. God gave us rain, the soil produced fruit and the prices were good. One can imagine that repayment of the debts was slow under such conditions. The Government produced a new contract which deferred our payment. That revived the hopes of parents and children, the thought of owning one's own land ...

*Page seven is missing in which the narrative switches from father to son. [Start of page 8]- to become independent.*

"And that's how I did it: In my 22nd year I bought 80 acres from the Government under contract, the land bordering on the one my father cultivated. I worked on the soil myself and kept the proceeds while eating in Father's house. And for this love of my parents I worked on their land as well. As I wanted so much to get married I had to build a house. Brother Michael was out of work just at that moment, so he helped me to erect the homestead, platted straw between poles plastered with mud! 3 rooms and a veranda. The young girl I wanted to marry was Auguste Köpke, 16 years old. In those days girls got married very young as there were no older ones about! It is said that a 12 years old English girl was married to a Legionary. To my horror Auguste's father did not want to give his consent to our marriage.



But as we did not give up he was finally obliged to give in. We were married February 7th 1867 in the German Church Keiskama Hoek by the English Missionary Mr. William Greenstock. With the young wife besides me the work on the land was tackled with even more energy. Above all I had to buy cattle. It was less dear then nowadays but as I possessed no money whatsoever it still was far too dear for me! In this dilemma help came from my wife's cousin Michael Karshagen in the form of a horse. He allowed me to pay for it on instalments. But how horrible to find out that, just after I had fetched it, Karshagen had bought it from a Kaffir who had in turn stolen it. All my hard earned money gone. But I was re-imbursed! But luckily I had bought a second horse already and was able to buy yet another one besides having the loan of my father's two - I had 4 horses at my disposal. Farming was an up and down job - but on the whole I was progressing slowly. In the year 1878 when my 7th child was born I could repay my last debt to the Government. 1877-1878 the Frontier War was raging. I had to fight. My wife and children had to leave the farm in a great hurry to go into a camp to save their lives. I was not wounded in the war, though we have been in dangerous positions. The enemy was beaten, we could go back to our farms, but they were almost destroyed, not the work of our enemies but our friends, the Fingos! Yet another painful start. Victuals very expensive - a bag of potatoes £3, flour per bag £3, nothing to be got under £3. But when our harvest came in it was the reverse - everything was sold at rediculously low prices - i.e. a bag of potatoes 3 – 6 shillings, mealies 100 lbs about 7 shillings. These prices compared with those we had to pay before, really made us feel disheartened. Of course some fared better than we did. Nobody stole anything from them and with everything in tact they could sell their products at the abovementioned high prices. And many a foundation for wealth was laid there and then.

"I must not omit to mention how I came by my first cattle. We started with goats for milk and meat. For each goat according to value we had to pay 10-15 shillings. After the war one could buy a goat for 3 shilling, but Father Köpke here had to pay £17.6. per head! You see how the prices varied! The first goat I earned by working with German farmers while still unmarried. Must confess the farmer was quite benevolent - the goat had a greater value than my labour; half of it was a present to me! When married we built up our herd of goats, we had plenty of good milk. Between us and father Peinke we could kill a goat every month, meat on the table - things were looking up! 1867 was an excellent year for potatoes. But the market prices were low. So I swopped potatoes for mealies as much as possible one bucket potatoes for one of mealies, this swop was done with Fingos. Others bought the potatoes

from us - 3 pence per bucketful! Now we had a whole bag full of 3 pence pieces, but the cows were still too dear. Yet there was a cattle sale at Gonubie Hill. I started off with my bag of 3 pence pieces to possibly buy cows. But too dear! But when heifers were sold I was lucky, bought 3, one of which in calf (I hoped) which it was indeed! Had to pay £9 for those 3, but the bag only contained £7, but Michael Karshagen helped me out with £2, which of course was paid back. Already on my way home I could have sold one head of cattle for double the price - but I liked the beast and kept it. Unfortunately lightning killed it, the prized possession, after 3 months. But a calf was born soon and we had butter too! As my horses ate too many mealies I sold them and bought oxen instead, contented with grass! But luck does not always hold. After a week one of the oxen died of lung disease. I had to borrow money for its replacement. Amazing how little money we possessed. To be in debt to buy one ox for £4. Enough to eat, but money - no!

"For a while I managed with 2 oxen, but as soon as I got rid of my debt my brother Michael lent me money to buy two more. How quickly work proceeded with 4 oxen! And with Michael's help I made a Trudelwagen to go to town to sell my products! We thought we were Lords!- Now I must tell the other side of the story in the life of the German Settlers. There were always 5-6 waggons nose-to-tail going to town like the trail of the children of Israel! When the prices were good a number of the settlers halted near the cheapest places to buy brandy either by the bottle or even in gallons. Imagine what scenes could be witnessed on the way home? I have not taken part in any such trips, I simply can't take to brandy.

"My little farm of 80 acres had been paid for, I had a good herd of cattle, my children were healthy, we had no illnesses to speak of, but for my eldest daughter who has been sickly all her life, she even missed school.- Having told much about my life on the farm I must mention now the biggest change that has taken place within me and how I found my way to Jesus Christ. Wonderful how the Lord can turn a little insignificant event into a big moment which changes a life completely. It happened on a Saturday, March 31st 1867 when I called on Miller Radloff in Keiskama Hoek with my grain bags. So many farmers has been that day that my bags reached the mill only just before 12 midnight. Miller Radloff declared he could not work after 12 midnight into Sunday as he was a Baptist and as such he had to obey the rules. But at stroke 12 midnight Sunday he would set his mill going again and I could go home with my flower on Monday morning. I was really in a spot. At home was my young wife expecting her first baby at any moment and I here - not being able to go home! Miller Radloff tried to console me. He said

as he was going to Stutterheim on Sunday to church - why not go with him? I wasn't at all pleased, but a bit of talking to had it's results and off I went to the Baptist Church. The so-called church was a dwelling house of the Büttner family. There was no preacher. It was my miller who stood behind the table and with his little treasure of Bible knowledge started to declare, that we - in our present state of affairs - had no or very little hope of salvation, that we had to find the way to Christ first. He recited several parts from the Bible and read the story of Nicodemus. These passages were well known to me from Confirmation Classes. But the very pronounced application to ourselves and the conclusion thereof as well as the explanation given were quite strange to me. After the service Miller Radloff asked me whether I had any objections and what my re-actions were. I asked Radloff if he were really ready and able to follow the Lord Jesus as he said one should? His answer was thus: "We must try in the power of the Lord to become his followers" and he was in no doubt as to our ability to succeed. That was too much for me. An impossibility, I said to myself. Wagonmaker Grünewald asked me to dinner. Radloff came too. This Grünewald knew his bible well, as far as my judgement went, better than myself, Radloff and many others. He led me in our conversation as far as to admit frankly and openly that the Baptists were on the right path. But that still did not make me a real Baptist. My brain had absorbed the message but the heart and the will were not yet in the Master's hand. Later I saw the personal weaknesses and sore points of the Baptists and I thought: "Well, all this is just eyewash." But I was certain of one fact: I had not lived according to the Word of God. A sting had remained in my soul! Though I had found fault in the way of life of several Baptists, I did not refrain from their meetings. It must be mentioned the early Baptists did not have a trained preacher, but every eloquent Baptist had gathered a little troop around him. These little bands were diminished with the appearance of yet other orators. This proves the importance of a trained, guiding and organising hand in a religious movement, otherwise there is danger of harming its growth. It was my soul too which was injured by this dismemberment. I therefore decided to withdraw from the Baptist movement. Just then a rumour reached my ear that a Baptist preacher was coming out from Germany to organise and control the work.

"It was our Brother Gutsche senior. When he preached for the first time in Keiskama Hoek I was present. He was preaching from a text of John. It was the verse which tells us about the trumpet of the archangels. Gutsche was standing under the window. Suddenly he turned his ear towards the window calling: "I seem to hear the trumpets already" and swinging round to me - me alone - asking: "ARE YOU READY?" The arrow hit the right spot! my

conscience told me - no, you are NOT ready! That was the second sting that embedded itself deeply into my soul! But converted I was not by a long shot! Satan crept deeply into my thoughts. But even this temptation could not separate (sic) me nor tear me from my new goal of my life gliding to and fro like a far away light in front of my eyes. *I started to read my Bible and to pray by myself* (sic). It became certain to me that the Lord was merciful on me poor sinner. The devil tried his best to hold me to him; that was proof to me that I had been firmly connected to him earlier on. As Brother Rode does not know when he has to leave as Prisoner of War we can now only string the most important events together:

[This was written by August Peinke at the beginning of the First Great World War, shortly after September 1914 when the security forces visited and registered all "enemy" citizens of German nationality with the view of putting them behind barbed wire in prisoner of war camps. As it happened, pastor Rode was allowed to serve his congregation in East London right through the War].

"My baptism took place in Keiskama Hoek by Brother Gutsche. Became member, belonging to Brother Gutsche's congregation. I had been married 11 years when I was baptised. My wife was baptised 26 years later by Brother Gutsche in King William's Town. Lived in Keiskama Hoek up to 1882, moved 1882 to Glenhope Farm near Hanover. The first 3 years after leasing of the farm from brother Michael were good ones. In those years I was able to save about £300. Three lean years. Great distress. Cattle death. 700 big sheep and 500 small ones dead in one year. Deep in debt. Property in Keiskama Hoek heavily mortgaged to be able to pay lease. Rental £100 per year. I could not see my way under those circumstances to [get the farm back (?) ].

"My wife was not be informed about this difficult position as it was she who had tried to dissuade me from farm and who left Keiskama Hoek much against her will. But conditions improved, the wool price was raised from 3 pence to 9 pence per pound - money was coming in. In one of the better years I was able to put aside £1200. I bought the farm. About 1893 the farm was mine - without debt. God be praised and thanked! ... Up to 1905 I saved up and leased the farm to my children Hermann and Fritz who pay me a yearly interest of £150. Since 1905 member in East London - Cambridge, where I bought 2 beautiful houses for £1150. My third eldest son Hugo felt the calling of God to become a minister. Since 1913 for a year in Glasgow, then in London, Pesbots College and I hope that God will give him his blessing for his studies and may he become a worthy preacher.

## #2: Original German letter from J.G. Oncken to Frankfurt

"Den Brüdern Buschmann und Dorian. Hamburg 28.März 1865 Theure Brüder!

Ich habe Euren Wechsel für £34 richtig erhalten, und denselben nach London gesandt, zur Auszahlung, nachdem er fällig sein wird.

"Mit der Sendung eines Ältesten geht es aber nicht so schnell wie Sie sich das denken. Ich habe mich nun erst nach einem tüchtigen Bruder umzusehen, der alle Fähigkeiten in sich vereinigt, in sich vereinigt, (sic) einen so schweren Posten zu bekleiden, wie, nach dem Inhalt Ihrer Briefe zu urtheilen, der dortige sein muss. Die Aufgabe der dortigen Geschwister ist es einstweilen, diese wichtige Angelegenheit häufig vor den Thron zu bringen, dass er sich den rechten Mann erwählen und ihm die nötige Freudigkeit geben wolle, den Ruf dorthin anzunehmen. Ich werde es hier nicht daran fehlen lassen, alles aufzubieten, dass wir den rechten Mann finden, aber das steht jetzt schon fest, dass wenn es auch gelingt den Mann zu finden, der den dortigen Anforderungen entspricht, so kann er nicht Hals über Kopf von hier abreisen. Der Bruder sollte nicht allein predigen und der Gemeinde vorstehen können, sondern auch Schulen errichten und diese unter seiner Leitung haben, dann sollte er auch der englischen Sprache mächtig sein, um mit den Behörden verhandeln zu können.

"Solche Leute sind aber selten unter uns, und da wir diese nicht backen können, wie der Bäcker seine Brote, so wird der HErr geehrt sein, wenn wir anhaltend darum bei ihm anklopfen. Dann wird sich auch schwerlich ein Bruder dazu verstehen, die Heimath zu verlassen, ohne im Voraus zu wissen, zu welcher Unterstützung die dortigen Geschwister sich verpflichten. Ich würde deshalb rathen, dass Sie beide ohne Aufschub eine Subscriptions Liste anfertigen, worauf sich alle Mitglieder zu regelmässigen jährlichen Beiträgen verpflichten, welche halbjährlich, quataliter oder auch monatlich gezahlt werden können. Ohne eine solche Vorkehrung würde die Stellung eines Ältesten unerträglich sein. Soll der Älteste seine ganze Zeit dem Wohl der Gemeinde widmen, so kann derselbe keinen weltlichen Beruf treiben, darum die Notwendigkeit der Ihnen angerathenen Massregeln, Unterschriften zu regelmässigen Beiträgen zu sammeln.

"Da es dort auch an manchen Büchern fehlen wird, und der Eine und andere dies und jenes Buch zu haben wünscht, vielleicht auch noch andere Sachen, so sollte eine allgemeine Aufforderung an die Geschwister ergehen, diese Gelegenheit dazu zu benutzen. Ein jeder müsste dann, was er haben wollte, auf ein Stückchen Papier schreiben mit seiner Namens Unterschrift. Diese Stückchen Papiere müssten Sie dort behalten, aber alles was bestellt ist, auf einen Bogen schreiben und uns baldigst zu senden wie auch das Resultat der Unterschriften zur Unterstützung des Ältesten.

"Dieses, theure Brüder, ist so das Notwendigste, was ich Ihnen zu schreiben hätte. Wir haben hier jetzt 27 junge Brüder, die zum Missionsdienst ausgebildet werden, aber unter diesen dürfte schwerlich einer sein, der sich für Afrika eignet. Dann bitte ich noch zu bemerken, welche Kleidungsstücke sich am besten für das dortige Clima eignen, da es dort viel wärmer ist wie hier. Schwere Winterröcke werden dort wohl überflüssig sein.

"Nun, theure Brüder, wir legen diese für das Reich Gottes so wichtige Angelegenheit in die gnädigen und allmächtigen Hände des Herrn Jesu, dessen Verherrlichung dabei oben anstehen muss. Er mache Sie und alle dort, denen die Ehre des HErrn am Herzen liegt, und die im Dienste stehen, und die Er mit Seinem Blute erkauft, zu jedem nur möglichen Opfer bereit, damit das Unternehmen auch zustande komme.

"Es grüsst Sie beide, und alle, die Christum lieb haben, unverrückt, in herzlicher Liebe, Ihr im HErrn verbundener Bruder (gezeichnet) J G Oncken."

### **#3: Original letter from Elder Gernetzky**

"King Williams Town, 24.July 1897 - Dear Brother Gutsche!

In a special churchmeeting of 5. July '97, with Pastor Martin Schmidt in the chair and about 200 members present, the resignation of Br Preuss and your own position were on the agenda. Out of the blue a proposal was tabled "that pastor Gutsche should be put on pension of £100.p.a. with immediate effect, 1) not for life but as long as the church is able to pay it; 2) Life Insurance Premium is included in this sum; 3) The pension will only be paid if Br Gutsche does not start a rival church. Your supporters asked a) for the reason of this strange proposal, b) whether the present dissatisfaction in the

church would disappear with the removal of Mr. Gutsche and c) whether you were the reason for the disharmony in Bethany? The only answer given by the chair was that Mr Gutsche himself is NOT the reason for the strife ... The station Fort White (in writing) and many King members protested that this whole procedure is grossly unethical and the matter could not be discussed in your absence. 34 voted for an adjournment and 62 for your immediate retirement.

"Dear brother Gutsche, be encouraged by the fact that less than 30 of those present voted against you which shows that the great majority has not forgotten your faithful, self-denying and sacrificial labours among us during the last 30 years! ... Our reason for this letter is to assure you, highly esteemed Pastor, that we look up to you as our most needed, respected shepherd and guide. May the church decide whatever they want, we are your monument of God's grace and the fruit of your labour of love. We want you to stay. The appended 75 signatures are all we could gather in so short a time, there are many more who join us in loyalty ... The Lord God Almighty knows that in the history of the German Baptists you are a bright star which showed us the way to Heavenly Glory.-

Appended are the signatures of 75 members plus Don Don and Breidbach Stations. There are many others who could not sign because of shortness of time."

#### **#4: Original letter of Louis Preuss**

"Teuerster Bruder Gutsche! Mayfair, den 31. Jan. 1899 Innigst danke ich Ihnen für Ihren unaussprechlich liebenswürdigen Brief und die treue väterliche Gesinnung, welche sich in diesem Schreiben nicht weniger als in früheren, wie in Ihrem ganzen Wesen ausspricht. Ja, Ja, lieber Vater, Sie haben nur zu Recht. Ich muss Ihnen ja Recht geben, und ganz gewiss, auch das Gericht der Welt müsste Ihnen Recht geben, denn Ihre Künste sind ja männiglich in Afrika bis zum Zambesi und in ganz Deutschland bekannt und zwar als findiger Advokat und Sophist. Darum bitte ich Sie, lieber Vater, haben Sie Erbarmen mit einem armen Sünder und dummen Thoren, wie ich es bin. Geruhen Sie, meine Briefe mit mehr Musse zu lesen und auch Worte nicht zu übersehen, die Ihrem erhabenen Blick freilich zu geringfügig erscheinen müssen.

"Weiter bitte ich Sie, hochgeehrter Vater Gutsche, auch gütigst Geduld mit mir zu haben, wenn ich den hehren Sinn Ihrer weisen Worte nicht immer sogleich erfasse. Wollen Sie sich daher herablassen, mir Ihre Andeutung

betreffend meinerseits nicht ausgezahlte Gelder des Weiteren und in einfacheren Worten zu erklären?

"Vertrauend auf den Edelmut Ihres Herzens, den ich so oft unwürdigerweise erfahren durfte, and der mir, lieber Vater Gutsche, eine Stütze und ein Trost alle Tage meines Weilens hier in Afrika war, hoffe ich, dass der "Ton" dieses Briefes Ihren Ohren lieblicher klingen wird als der des vorigen. Ich habe mich bemüht, die Saiten etwas straffer zu spannen, um das Vergangene gut zu machen und auf jeden Fall mich so auszudrücken wie Sie und Ihre Freunde es gerne haben. Es grüsst Sie untertänigst und demütigst (gez) Louis Preuss."

## **#5: Travel account to Johannesburg and Sugarloaf Oct 1889 to Jan 1890**

In less than 20 years the German Settlers spread right across the country. The gold fields and diamond mines of Johannesburg and Kimberley beckoned. Gutsche was concerned about their spiritual welfare and kept in touch by frequent letters. He embarked on several pastoral visits. As a sample, we give details of the October-December 1889 trip, from his diary and almost daily letters to his wife Mary in King Williams Town:

Saturday 12.October 18.89: (Translations by F.H. Haus)

"Mr Wheeldon's carriage takes me to Grahamstown; I am the only passenger. We leave at 06<sup>16</sup> and arrive at 17<sup>15</sup>, totally frozen, stiff and wet. I spent a long time at the kitchen stove of the Manse until I revived. I attended the Sunday services, heard Mr Cross preach twice and enjoyed long and refreshing fellowship with them all.

"Sunday night I left Grahamstown by train at 20<sup>45</sup> and arrived in Kimberley Tuesday morning at 04" o'clock. We were late, mainly because the train personnel talked endlessly whenever they had to stop for other trains to cross, mainly goods trains. Vainly I tried to sleep during the bitterly cold nights. At Noupoot I bought myself an inexpensive "Kaffir blanket."

"In Kimberley I visited the diamond diggings and the compound of the 1600 Blacks who worked in the "Big Hole." The recovering and sorting of the diamonds from the mud is first done by Whites who get 1/sh per carat; then the Blacks go through it again for 3d. Finally prisoners have a last check without pay. The strictest supervision and detective system is in place which costs £16.000 per annum. Yearly production amounts to about 4 million £ Sterling.



"I visited all Germans, Baptists or not and also called on the English Baptist minister Mr Hughes. Kimberley has about 30.000 Whites and 26.000 Blacks, electric street lights, about 800 cabs, many Jews and numerous prostitutes. At the annual mission conference of the Wesleyans with 120 visitors we had some good talks by Dr Watkins. Mr Wilkinson's speech was fair, but Mr Spenser's address was full of self-praise. The solo item from Milton was an ear-splitting howling!

"The journey of 165 km to Bloemfontein took two days, by horse-cart, from Wednesday 03<sup>00</sup> to Thursday 18<sup>00</sup>. We were caught in several heavy thunderstorms which forced us to outspan and sleep on the ground from 23<sup>00</sup> to 02<sup>00</sup>. At 04<sup>00</sup> I ordered a cup of coffee from a Dutchman at Boshoff which gave me a very bad headache with a gall attack.

"Bloemfontein is much like Grahamstown, 5000 inhabitants and street lights. I visited the Government buildings, the President's home and had long discussions with the Education Minister about schools and mission statistics. I also saw the Postmaster General, Bank Manager Mr Simpson and the German families Borkenhagen, Grosskopf, Grützner and Hess.

"The next 96 km to Winburg on Saturday 19. October 1889 saw a 90 minutes' quarrel between two drivers about the changing of horses, right on the banks of the Modder River. Three quarters of the people of Winberg are Germans, most of them bachelors, who cannot take roots and want to return to Germany as soon as they have the passage money. Or they have to marry into the Dutch and English families. I conducted a service for the German community that same Saturday night in the Wesleyan church with 40 to 50 Germans present.

"Monday morning at 09<sup>00</sup> we were off again to Senekal, 58 km away, arriving at 16<sup>00</sup>. After the horses had been unharnessed, I had two conversations with Mr Schmidt about faith and baptism, and with the driver Hendrick who was dissatisfied with his Wesleyan church. During the night one of the horses died, and the planned service at Senekal had to be cancelled because of heavy rains and storms. The little ford at Gudath's farm was so swollen and flooded that I had to be transported across in a little 'box'. The friendly farmer's wife was suffering from severe rheumatism. We were stuck for two days and could only continue on Wedn. 23rd Oct. to Ventersburg, 54 km away. A second horse got very ill but did not die. However, we had to wait two whole days for the mail coach, which brought us finally to Johannesburg; we covered the 270 km in five nights and three and a half days, via Kroonstad, Vredefort and Potchefstroom. We started every morning soon after 03" and stopped just before 19<sup>00</sup> every night.

"The postal system in the Free State cannot cope with the increased traffic and is in total disarray. The mailcoach was expected last night but has not even left Winberg. Most people and firms use the telegraph because ordinary letters leave Bloemfontein for Natal and Johannesburg only once a week. In other words, one can only receive a reply letter from any of those points after a minimum of four weeks. I could arrive in Johannesburg within 5 hours but have to wait another three days here in Ventersburg. Horses and mules die like flies; oats for them is utterly unobtainable from hotels and local farmers. At Potchefstroom the contractor paid £16 to feed his two horses and had to buy two new ones at Vredefort. At the banks of the Vaal River we could not get any accommodation and had to walk across the river, on stepping stones, by the light of a lantern, to beg the shop keeper on the Transvaal side for a humble night shelter. ...

"Next morning, a Sunday, we started off at 3<sup>30</sup> but were soon in trouble. The mail coach was overloaded with letters and parcel bags; there was no room for the three passengers. Two of them sat on the edge of the carriage with their legs hanging down. I managed to kneel on top of the bags, inside, holding on to the tent-roof. After 15 minutes we came through a dark forest ravine (otherwise it was a clear starry night) and over a hidden tree stump. The driver and the other two passengers flew through the air and fell to the ground. I, because of my kneeling position and the weight of my body, kept the carriage from overturning altogether and suffered no harm whatsoever. At seven o'clock on Sunday morning we finally arrived at Potchefstroom, capital of the Transvaal. I attended the Wesleyan chapel for services and then found a miserable small hotel room at the Queens because the city was flooded with lawyers, judges and business people for the Circuit Court which was to open on Monday morning.

"On Tuesday 29. October we finally arrived in Johannesburg, my "Home" for the next two months. Here is a great drought with severe famine. For months the supply has failed. Rice sells at 1/6d a pound (453 gram), potatoes 9d, bread 8d (6d a loaf in King Williams Town); sugar is 1/- a pound. There is no cheese or butter. Oom Krüger is doing more than anybody expected; he has cancelled all import tax and offers a bonus of £5000 for the first 250 wagons who bring food from Natal or the Orange Free State to Johannesburg. Water is scarce, the supply is only turned on one hour each day. The Gold Mines have stopped production, there is no water for their operations, black and white workers are retrenched, no dividends are being paid and the gold shares have plummeted. Even the bricklayers can only work a few hours every day because of insufficient water for their mortar and plaster. A real

good thunderstorm and cloudburst over Johannesburg would change everything!

"The 'Golden City' is in deep trouble. Streets are dirty tracks without lights. The 'houses' are tents, reed boxes or tin huts. The rent is astronomically high: A wooden-iron shack with four rooms and kitchen fetches between £20 and £25 per month. Water is 22/ extra (one hour a day!). If paid before the seventh of the month 5% discount is allowed. Horribly smelling refuse is piling up around the houses and on the streets.- Thefts and robberies increase every week; the unemployed Blacks take any clothing and sell it in other areas or at pawn shops. A magistrate found his armoured safe gone one morning, thieves had put it on a lorry, driven to Doornfontein, blasted it open with dynamite, took the money and disappeared. The safe of a wool firm was transported to Booysens, blown up and emptied. In Krugersdorp we found a notice on the door of a shop 'Closed for Stock-Taking'. All the while robbers behind closed doors - unmolested - cleaned the shelves of every article in bright daylight, only to disappear with a huge loot ... Crime and injustice increase daily. While brother W. Sell was with us in the services, thieves broke into his home and took £20 worth of clothing. To brother Ziehl this happened several times as well ... The two Ziemann daughters live in a wooden-iron construction and pay £7.10/- per month; a portion of the verandah serves as kitchen" (Letters to Mary from 12.to 31.Oct.1889).

"Brother Ziehl, our watchmaker, is very often unable to work because of the tons of dust whirling up from the streets. For the same reason he has to clean every watch once or twice a year. There is plenty of 'live' sand with millions of fleas around. Rats and mice usually live comfortably in the homes even before the people move in. A young cat fetches £2 to £3 in Johannesburg but they have a short life. So far I have seen only one cat, but countless straying dogs

"The Grim family seems to be doing well but have to work very hard. She has a monthly turn-over of about £400 with an average profit of 20%. Brother Grim has a 'part time job' with a Bavarian Beer Brewer. Early at 06<sup>00</sup> he leaves for the brewery, then to the market place to buy corn, malt and wood. After that he and his black helper do the delivery rounds, accept new orders, collect the money, enter spendings and takings into the cash book and stop around 11<sup>00</sup> at home for breakfast. Then off again to deliver the morning orders to the ale-houses. At about 18<sup>00</sup> his daily work is done and he comes home for a late lunch. He gets 10% commission and does quite well on it with £50 to £60 a month. As soon as he has paid off his creditors in

Germany, he plans to return to his native land (he went bankrupt in King Williams Town and says to me: 'I am no longer a Baptist')."

Gutsche stayed two months in Johannesburg, looked after his members and organised the affairs of the Mayfair Branch. At home the children were sick and fretting for their father. 'Perhaps their sickness is due to the extreme heat and the continuous drought?' he writes to his wife.

"Please give them only boiled water to drink and keep the gutters and drains running and as clean as possible, then cover them with lime regularly. And please let me know with every letter how our 'precious little olive branches' are doing. I am happy to tell you that after the many bad nights on the road, since arriving up here I have something like a 'sleeping sickness'! My body simply demands its due and gets plenty of it now. I am upset that hardly any groceries are finding their way into our Manse during my absence, all the more as members know that the new couple from Germany, Rev and Mrs Martin Schmidt, are lodging with you in King. I would have thought that the four stations ought to have been more generous, and that the many patients who come to you for medicine, would show their gratitude in a practical way by supplying the much needed food ... I met brother Donian who has just bought a big piece of land ridiculously cheap, had it surveyed and divided into 150 building sites. He is now a very rich man (Johannesburg letter 6. Nov. 1889).

"The Stock Exchange keeps going by means of mock-sales and buys from banks and speculators. A cheque is valid for not more than 24 hours because the fortunes of brokers may change that often. Whoever receives a cheque runs to the Bank immediately for cash - the Standard Bank has a staff of 80!- Fever and influenza shake my body from time to time. It must be the sultry thunderstorms, too much work and the long long trip which catches up on me. I am so tired and weak ... My 38 members are split into 3 parties: One wishes to link up with Berlin; the other section prefers affiliation with King, and the remaining faction insists on independence with their own minister. I have to endure some difficult business meetings. Bro Otto said that the money for my trip could have been put to better use for something else and I replied

'If such unkind statements are made in my presence I will put the money onto the communion table and pay the £21 out of my own pocket'.

"Ziehl and Sell objected to this and wanted me to keep at least the £11 which they personally had contributed for my trip. I then kept the £11 and handed

the remaining £10 to the treasurer, expressing my gratitude" (Letter 29.11.89).

He writes to his church in King Williams Town on 12. December 1889:

"I have been here, in the 'Golden City' for the last four weeks and found a Corinthian confusion among my people. During three lengthy and partly unpleasant sessions we came to the following agreement: *Johannesburg will become a self-contained unit affiliated to King Williams Town, with their own administration, elder and pastor, separate funds, own church register and power to decide their own membership-movement. However, the mother church King Williams Town will assist in funding, recommend financial help from the Baptist Union and German Bund and give advice in difficult and debateable situations.* Objections and difficulties were put out of the way without any fighting and bad taste. They have agreed to build a four-roomed manse on the church site, which is sufficiently large for both buildings. They want to build because the rent for homes is too expensive, they cannot get anything under £25 to £30 a month. They called brother Stroh to become their first minister. Tomorrow we shall have our first communion service and will start a Sunday School in the afternoon. I will also keep myself busy with collecting funds for the church and new manse and will try to establish a German school before I leave.

"I started collecting by visiting Mr C. Malcomess. He offered me £10 asking whether that was enough, to which I replied: 'I thank you very much for the generous gift of £10 for a good German cause, but it is for you to decide whether this sum is worthy of the owner of the biggest German merchant concern! He then wrote a cheque for £25. J. H. Hay gave me £10."

[Herr Malcomess was the German Consul in East London with an uncommonly magnetic personality, combined with fair fortune. He became one of the most wealthy, prominent and popular men in South Africa, with his headquarters in East London and successful branches in King Williams Town and Bloemfontein. He was offered British citizenship and a seat in the Cape Parliament but declined. As a member of the Lutheran Church he always sat in the front row and impressed the congregation by putting a golden sovereign in the collection plate. When during the First World War a number of people wanted to burn down his mansion, he confronted them by pointing out that the many people he employed would all lose their jobs. After his death the family donated his huge residence to the city for the use as a Children's Home.

James Hay was the son of the Rev Alexander Hay at Grahamstown, became one of the first Presidents of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and also Chairman of the Chamber of Mines. His niece Myrtle King married Philipp, the doctor son of Carl Hugo Gutsche. When James Hay died, he left £2,000 to each of his nieces, a considerable sum of money in those days.]

He was on the road again just before Christmas from Johannesburg to Sugarloaf/Tafelkop, via Heidelberg-Frankfurt-De Villiersdorp, to visit the Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk under Odendaal. En route he was stopped by a cavalcade of 10 carts with horses. This welcome party took him to Sugarloaf and the home of J D Odendaal, where happy speeches were delivered by Odendaal and von Steyn, followed by a response from Gutsche and much singing and prayers. Eating and drinking with many guests concluded the day. Homesteads and farms were decorated with colourful garlands.

"The whole area is excited because of my visit and farmers come and go all the time to see the man who baptised J.D. Odendaal 22 years ago at Frankfurt/Cape. It was rumoured consistently that Mallet had baptised him and now they saw with their own eyes *'dat de klein jong keel hed u gedopt vor tree en twentaag jare!'* (the young small man baptised you 23 years ago).

"This comment I heard more than once! What a wonderful introduction and welcome! The chapel is on Mr Steyn's farm, 90 minutes or 14 km away. Every day I visited garlanded and whitewashed homes and heard jubilee songs and praise-Psalms which could melt hearts and stones, makes the numerous dogs delirious and almost made my eardrums burst and my nerves shatter. However it was sheer love which gladly tortured me and inflicted this enormous noise" (Sugarloaf letter to his wife Mary, dated 25.Dec.1889).

"They really take advantage of me: Wedn 25. at 14<sup>00</sup> Christmas service; Friday 27/12 public conference which I open with a sermon, followed by three sessions on Christian subjects, general affairs and current trends. Saturday 28/12 conference for members only, where I preach, chair the proceedings and give two more sermons later in the day. On Sunday 29/12 they really kept me busy: 09<sup>00</sup> Prayers - 10<sup>00</sup> worship service and business meeting; 14<sup>00</sup> service and communion; 16<sup>00</sup> to 16<sup>30</sup> choir practise. At 17<sup>00</sup> prayer meeting. At 20<sup>00</sup> "Liebesmahl" (love feast): A programme of eating, singing, testimonies, addresses, talks and prayer, according to the German tradition. We tried to fit in a slot for the Sunday School, but it was most difficult. am expected to be present at all meetings, if possible, to speak at each one,

though not always having to take the chair. Fortunately, the messages just come to me, altogether eight sermons in four days.

"I preach in German without an interpreter and speak very slowly and clearly; in my second sermon the great majority of people fully understood what I was driving at. In addition I arranged proper church registers and membership lists and give advice and instructions on church meetings, conferences and Baptist Principles, so that my mouth and throat have no rest all day long. But the brothers and sisters are marvellous, eager to learn, hungry for God's Word and appreciative in every way.

"Mr E Warren arrived by mail coach Saturday night, extremely [exhausted]. For three days he sat on top, totally exposed, because the inside was overcrowded. Cloudbursts and violent thunder storms left his travelling blanket sopping wet. He caught a severe cold in addition to sunstroke. Even this Sunday he trembled like an aspen leaf" (Letter to Mary 29. Dec '89).

## **#6: Gutsche's open letter concerning A.B.K Odendaal Help**

"To all Baptist Churches, here and in Germany" dated June 1903.

"Exactly one year ago the peace treaty between England and the former Boer-Republic was signed in Vereeniging, the border railway point between the Transvaal and Free State. On the 1st June this year, Monday after Pentecost, I took leave from our fellow-believers at Sugarloaf and Dutch friends who had returned from the prisoner of war camps of Bermuda, Ceylon and other distant places, and where the women and children from the concentration camps after their release had joined them. For six months the new Government supplied food and rations, but after that offered assistance to widows and orphans only. Seed grain was supplied as well, but most farmers had poor results and small harvests. There are no beasts on the farms. Extreme poverty is their constant companion. Formerly rich farmers must now travel 60 or more kilometer to work as handymen at Government jobs to earn a meagre allowance which still keeps their families below the breadline. Their usual staple food of mealies, mutton and milk is unobtainable. On my former visits in 1889 I saw literally thousands of animals grazing on hills and meadows, now the empty winter fields are dead, no livestock whatsoever is moving about ... Any Christian charitable help is most urgently appreciated and needed.

"Their scanty emergency shelters are not better than the huts of Hottentots and Schoolkaffirs. In our Sunday services the dresses were clean and whole, but I observed four patches of different material on the jacket of one

brother; a sister had repaired her cotton dress with seven different patches from other old rags. There is simply no material to repair worn clothing. Kitchen utensils and the daily bread are in short supply. Credit is unobtainable because there is nothing left which could be pledged as security. The shopkeepers have to start from scratch without any working capital.

"The chapel and manse at Cornelia are in ruins, some walls are partly standing. Everything is destroyed, all the more so as friend and enemy moved to and fro in that area. There is no chance that our fellow believers can repair the damage to the sanctuary from their own resources. Unless help comes from outside, they must continue to meet in their stuffy and primitive 'dwellings': This is the hardest for them to cry to their God out of the dust.

"Odendaal the younger is now their new ordained leader and elder after his father's death. Their membership stands at 51 white and 21 coloured baptised believers, which are scattered far and wide. When they returned from the PoW and Concentration Camps to their burnt out homesteads they noticed so many snakes living among the ruins, more than they had ever seen before, that they were reminded of Isaiah 13:20-22:

"She will never be inhabited ... no Arab will pitch his tent there, no shepherd will rest his flocks there. But desert creatures will lie there, jackals will fill her houses; there the 'owls will dwell, and there the wild goats will leap about, hyenas will howl in her strongholds ... but the Lord will not forsake us for His name's sake!"

"I spent two Sundays with our beloved people and was over-joyed when during a prayer meeting we could lead six seeking souls to the Lord as their Saviour; they confessed their sins and received a new heart from the Lord. Odendaal baptised two young men who were prepared for salvation through the trials and cannons of the last war. During their prisoner of war years they found four other children of God whom they had never met before; they were united before the Throne of Grace! We still expect much fruit from the ravages of war ... This one thing we know: As much as there was a return from captivity for the children of Israel, and as much as Ezra and Nehemia rose up amongst the enemy, so there will be hope and a new beginning for our Dutch Baptist people up North!

"Dear brothers and sisters! Immediate help is important and imperative. Our Afrikaans members have received no help except the above mentioned from the Government, from two churches in Kaffraria and from a Women's



Association in the United States, but the assistance received did not even 'dampen the dry land' but disappeared unseen.

"All gifts will be gratefully received and immediately acknowledged by the elder of the church, J.W. Odendaal, P.O. Tafelkop, District Vrede. Brother Philipp Bickel of Oncken Publishers in Kassel has kindly agreed to receive contributions from Germany which he will pass on collectively." (signed) Hugo Gutsche.

## **#7: Hugo Gutsche's Presidential Address "The Unity and Peculiar Formation of the German Baptist Churches"**

*Delivered at the Baptist Union Assembly in Grahamstown on Monday night 11. July 1881:* "BRETHREN,- for a German Baptist the Presidential honour and onus is a new and unusual feature ... I anticipate that not all our views and practices will share an undivided approval yet that they may be profitable is my prayer and desire ... What statements appear new and strange, I beg to try by the touchstone of Paul: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good!"

"We are fully convinced of the original glory of the primitive Church, and consider its institution as ordained by God, and as a binding type and model to the end of the world. In spite of all our infirmities and weaknesses, we German Baptists form in mind and reality *ONE* large Church.

"Separation is our misfortune, unity our bliss. Our Lord does not intend the dismemberment of his body in single independent limbs, but the most intense and hearty union of all members into one compact body. Compare the following passages of Scripture:- ... We German Churches do not only consider ourselves as members of a small local body but also of a large one: and consequently we yield to the wish and will of the whole body. Churches, united in one Assembly, form resolutions which will be adopted by all, if they do not conflict with any precept of God.

"Our Church Constitution rests on the same principle which the Independents or Congregationalists own. Each Church forms an absolute total, and each individual member cooperates by his vote and work, means and gifts in all its affairs and concerns. The love of Christ and his members is the connecting and binding cord of the different congregations. No Church recognises any power or authority of any other.

Although we strictly adhere to this doctrine, the fact is not in the least changed hereby: all our German Churches form *ONE Church*

"If one Church departs from our principles or grows into an unhealthy state, another neighbouring Church has the right and duty to admonish such an erring brotherhood. We believe such proceedings to be scriptural and not dangerous for the independency of a Church. If the rule, laid down in Matth.18 is correct and Divine for individuals, should it not be so for Churches? ...

"In the Acts we find one Church appealing to another. The Church in Jerusalem interfered in the dilemmas of the Church of Antioch. They dispatched an epistle as well as brethren who should aid by their experience and knowledge. Whilst all matters went on smoothly, each Church decided alone what steps were to be taken; but as the most important question arose - whether the Law of Moses should be strictly adhered to or abandoned? – the Churches met together. The conclusion arrived at, after a warm debate, was recognised not only by these two Churches, but by all in Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15:1-31; 16:4-5).

"We act similarly in all cases. Thus each Church remains independent, but not so independent that it could not be influenced by an outside directing or modifying power. Love is our freedom; love is our fetter. An independency, where one Church does not care for another, appears to us ungodly; whereas the members of Christ's body are so closely connected and linked together, that "none liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." On the other hand, we find no Scripture approving the teachings of ROME, that one Church could elevate itself as Master and Ruler over others: On the contrary, all the Churches had equal rights ... Paul was highly delighted with the Tesselonians (Ephes. 2:14) that they 'became followers of the Churches of God which are in Judaea.'

"We know only one separation which we zealously advocate, viz: separation from World and Sin. Our banner shows the golden inscription, "Union! Union!" We endeavour to accept, embrace and appreciate all the praiseworthy and good things which we find in other Churches, knowing that we have still many things to learn and make them our own. ...

"Our German Churches cling with a warm heart and cordial love to the sister Churches in the United Kingdom and States but for all that we do

not forget, that we are a peculiar formation of the Lord, and that we have a history of our own."<sup>430</sup>

## **#8: Objection to Liquor Licence for Breidbach Hotel and discontinuing of selling *Ama Tomba* to Natives**

From the start, Hugo Gutsche and his churches petitioned the King Licensing Board and later even Parliament in Cape Town to tighten up the liquor laws and allow them to exercise their democratic right of "Local Option." Usually they were successful:

"To the Chairman and members of the Licensing Court, King Williams Town. Gentlemen - we, the undersigned, Residents of the village of Breidbach and neighbourhood, beg most respectfully and earnestly to petition the Board against the granting of the Hotel and Canteen Licence applied for by Mr Leonhard Heyde at Breidbach.

"We would in support of our petition most earnestly point out to the board the following circumstances viz.; that communication between King Williams Town and East London by rail, being now an established fact, the necessity for an hotel and Canteen at this place no longer exists -

"that it is within the memory of the board that this licence was refused sometime since upon a petition from the residents setting forth the fearful evil, and the disgraceful scenes, the result of the existing Canteen -

"that while the licence existed for this place the villagers were continually harassed and annoyed by brawls among the neighbouring Kaffirs taking place in Breidbach and which was truly testified to by the late Richard Tainton Esquire, when the Special Magistrate, and a Member of the Board, and who at that time of the refusal of the licence felt and spoke very strongly upon the evil the Licence was working among the people under his care -

"that your petitioners feel sure that the granting of this licence would again subject them to the same troubles as formerly existed, and we would most unhesitatingly point out to the Board that the Canteen trade at such a place would be the only portion of the business that would warrant the applicant in maintaining it -

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<sup>430</sup> SA Handbook 1881:14-20 which, interestingly, was printed by T.H. Crocott, Grahamstown, Steam Machine Printer, Church Square.

"your petitioners would point out that since the refusal of the licence by a late Board the village has improved and a better state of things now exists and your petitioners firmly believe that this improvement is a direct result of the act of the Board refusing the licence -

"Your petitioners would therefore most earnestly and respectfully urge upon the Board their kind consideration of this petition and as in duty bound your petitioners would ever pray -

We have the honour to be Gentlemen your obedient servant September 1878 (signed) HUGO GUTSCHE, Pastor on behalf of German Baptist Congregation at Breidbach. [Original spelling and punctuation retained].

The petition was successful; the Liquor Licence was not granted.

Ten years later the Town Council of King reports that "the selling of AMA TOMBA (malt of caffircorn) to the Blacks is a nefarious trade, carried on principally by small German shop-keepers." In an endeavour "to wipe out this blame resting upon us as Europeans, Germans and Christians, the churches in Conference decided (April 1889), because the trade of AMA TOMBA had grown out of control over the last 5 years, to circularise all traders in the district with the following document:

"Reading the request of the last missionary conference, held in this town, re: The Liquor Question, and being gratified by the action of the Town Councillors prohibiting the manufacture and sale of Kaffir beer ... we fully know that small shopkeepers sell malted grains to the Natives in small quantities to enable them to make beer. We have certainly never heard of this kind of thing before now - white men, selling malted grain ready for the Kaffirs to brew into beer and thus facilitating an offence in the eye of the law ... The trade is rampant.

"We are fully cognisant, that the Kaffirs will brew in future as in the past *their* beer; but as Europeans let us give no helping hand in this intoxicating business, which is not only the source of much crime and wickedness, but likewise disenables our Native servants to do their duties. Servant girls for instance complain having no night rest, owing to the men, drunk by Kaffir beer, being too noisy during the night.

"We gathered the opinion of several traders in Tomba and in consequence of which we solicit your signature under one of the two following columns:

A. To give up the trade in Tomba *under all circumstances* on the 31st day of May this year.

**B.** To give up the trade in Tomba "*Conditionally*"; that is, if all traders in this town desist from selling Tomba and no fresh trader in Tomba opens.

King Wms Town 24.April 1889 (signed) Hugo GUTSCHE.

Only one, a Mr A Crawford, voted for A., 14 Germans and 2 others signed under B., with certain additional reservations. Small battles were won, but the war against liquor was lost.

### **#9: Gutsche's Sermon 'Just say the Word'**

Another sample is his sermon JESU WORT (The Word of Jesus), about the Faith of the Centurion as recorded in Matthews 8:5-13. Gutsche used the argument of the Roman Captain to make his three points under the Heading '*Just say the Word*':

1. GO - into all the world (Great Commission Matth 28);
2. COME - unto me all who are heavy laden (lost or desperate?)
3. DO THIS - accept forgiveness and faith, in total obedience and surrender, for eternity is too long for you to be wrong.<sup>431</sup>

He always builds his sermons around the text and has at least two or three modern illustrations in every message. He is a good story teller and makes the Bible come alive. He not only stirs the emotions and grips the hearts of his hearers but also appeals to their intellect and will, giving them every time sound biblical teachings on doctrine and moral-ethical standards for every day living.

"The Centurion from Capernaum asked Jesus to do something about his paralysed servant who lies at home in terrible suffering. "Just say the word." He knew that the words of Jesus had the same authority over all manner of sickness as the Captain's instructions to his hundred soldiers. "When I tell this one '**GO**' he goes: and that one, '**COME**,' he comes. I say to my servant '**DO THIS**,' and he does it." This is total obedience which a heathen officer takes for granted from his soldiers. How about those who are followers of the One Who has all power in heaven and on earth? Where, where on earth, for Heaven's sake, does Jesus find such obedience of His word?

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<sup>431</sup> This message was submitted in 1914 to "Der Zionspilger" for publication and re-printed in "Der kleine Sendbote" 1925:131-33.

"Jesus Christ is a King without equals. One dare not criticise or modify his words. They require unconditional acceptance. His promises are true and his commands are for our own good.

**"GO"** and make disciples of all nations !" This is the Last Will and Testament of our King and demands our response. All disciples of Jesus are to be executors of His last bequest and will share the inheritance. Where, where are the men and women who come forward and say "Here I am, Lord, upon your Word I will go; send me." This is the greatest commission.

**"COME"** unto Me, all you who are weary and burdened, and I will give you rest"(Matth.11,28). This is another Kingly word for those who are in despair under the burden of sin and moan 'How long, o Lord, how much longer must I live in darkness?' Jesus says 'Come unto Me'. Are you afraid of him? Perhaps you kept Him waiting for twenty or thirty years - or longer - even spurned and offended Him? You need not fear the gentle One. His heart is even more noble than Joseph's who said: "Come close to me, I am your brother Joseph, the one you sold into Egypt! And now, do not be distressed, for I am not angry with you." (Genesis 45,4). Jesus is greater than Joseph! He is a forgiving Saviour and has proved His patience and forbearance ever so often. Good sense dictates to obey the King's command, but here is a friendly invitation, will you reject it? Say to Him: "Yes, Lord, upon Your Word I come, yes, I come!" You will find how He takes you by the hand and leads you into the blessed land of rest and peace.

"A factory owner and several of his employees were converted during a revival whilst the foreman, convicted of his sin, struggled along for weeks without a ray of hope. But love finds a way; the proprietor sent a message to his section leader: "Please, come to my office tonight at six o'clock." He arrived on the dot, and the following conversation took place: "Thank you for coming; I am glad you accepted my invitation." "Of course, how could I do otherwise? I would never ignore a letter from you!" The boss then handed him a second letter, in an identical envelope, with his name on it "Here is an even better invitation than the one from this morning; will you accept it as well?"

"Sir, I am sure I shall!" "Good, please open and read." As he did so, tears came into his eyes when he stammered "Jesus says 'Come unto me all you who are weary and burdened'. - He found peace and forgiveness and was a changed man. Lord, upon your Word, I come!

**"DO THIS!"** The prophet of Nazareth had just finished his boat- or lake-sermon and thanking Peter for the use of his vessel as a pulpit, told him "Put

out into deep water and let down the nets for a catch." Simon answered "Master, we've worked hard all night and haven't caught a thing. But upon your word I will let down the nets." He did so, and as a result they caught such a large number of fish that their nets began to break (Luke 5:5-11). Have you worked all night through and are now sitting on the shore with nothing but weed and emptiness? The Lord now comes to you and says "**Do this!**" Don't hesitate but obey Him.

"Jesus' final verdict: At an art exhibition two almost identical paintings were hanging on the wall. Both showed the antechamber with an open door to the courtroom where the prosecutor and defence were arguing before the judge. The first picture was entitled "Waiting for the judgment." The father was worried and the mother cried softly. The twin picture had the name "Innocent, Not Guilty" and showed the suspect free and happily walking home with father and mother on either side.

"You and I will hear the final judgment about our eternal destiny sooner or later, for sure. That final verdict has to be obeyed and is irrevocable. Which will it be? Either "Come, you are blessed by my Father; or "Depart from me, you who are cursed." What are you, what am I to expect?"

All his preaching was aimed at revival and personal conversion to faith in Jesus. He was always preaching for a verdict, making an appeal for full surrender to Christ.

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In 1859 the British "imported" 445 German settler families to strengthen the colonial borders in British Kaffraria (now Eastern Cape) in South Africa. Three of these settler families were Baptists, they evangelized their fellow Germans and anyone else they met. In 1867 Johann Gerhard Oncken of Hamburg, the founder of the Baptist Churches in Continental Europe, sent Hugo Gutsche to take care of the new Baptist community there and evangelize the native population. Fritz Haus, the last of Gutsche's German successors, wrote his PhD on the life and work of Hugo Gutsche, graduating from the University of Stellenbosch at the age of 80. Haus describes his ministry to White and Black over half a century and he does not forget Mrs Mary Gutsche, whom her husband called his "co-pastor."

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